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A STUDY OF CHICAGO'S STOCKYARDS COMMUNITY

III

WAGES AND FAMILY BUDGETS IN THE CHICAGO STOCKYARDS DISTRICT

WITH WAGE STATISTICS FROM OTHER INDUSTRIES EMPLOYING UNSKILLED LABOR

BY

J. C. KENNEDY AND OTHERS

AN INVESTIGATION CARRIED ON UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE BOARD OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SETTLEMENT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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CHAPTER I

THE STOCKYARDS DISTRICT

The packing industry has so completely dominated the life of the district extending a mile south and west of the University of Chicago Settlement that for years it has been called the region "back of the yards" or "Packingtown." While in the future it is not likely that this single industry will have such an all-important influence on the life of the community, there can be no doubt that for some time it will continue to be the chief factor determining the local standards of living.

GROWTH AND STABILITY OF THE INDUSTRY

The Union Stockyards are forty-six years old. In 1865, when there were half a dozen small stockyards scattered about Chicago, the Union Stockyards & Transit Co. was incorporated with a capital of $10,000,000. This company chose for its site a quarter-section of land bounded by 40th and 47th streets, Halsted Street and Center Avenue. The relation of this site to the rest of Chicago at that time is well described by Grand in his History of the Union Stockyards:[1] "In those early days this yard was far beyond the limits of the city, being sufficiently isolated to satisfy even Chicagoans that it was at a proper sanitary distance. Its site was a reedy swamp upon the unmeasured front feet of which no real estate dealer had yet cast a covetous eye." At first the stockyards consisted of 2,000 cattle pens covering 120 acres. But after 1868, when the refrigerator car was invented, the importance of Chicago as a cattle market and packing center grew by leaps and bounds. The leading packing companies erected plants near the stockyards and the capacity of these yards had to be increased repeatedly until at present they contain 13,000 pens and cover an area of 500 acres, 450 acres of which are bricked. Including the land used by the great packing-houses, the total area covered is over one square mile. Within the yards are 300 miles of railroad tracks and

[1] Grand, *Illustrated History of the Union Stockyards*, p. 17.

25 miles of streets. The daily capacity of the pens is 75,000 cattle, 125,000 sheep, and 300,000 hogs.

The growth of the Union Stockyards as a market and packing-center is well shown by the following Table I:[1]

TABLE I

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1905	1910
Cattle						
Total receipts	532,964	1,382,477	3,484,280	2,279,046	3,410,469	3,052,958
Killed in Chicago...	141,255	495,863	2,223,871	1,749,397	2,000,256	1,741,074
Hogs						
Total receipts	1,693,158	7,059,555	7,663,829	8,109,064	7,725,738	5,586,858
Killed in Chicago...	768,705	5,664,565	5,678,129	6,656,881	5,697,622	4,384,468
Sheep						
Total receipts	349,853	335,810	2,182,667	3,548,885	4,736,558	5,229,294
Killed in Chicago...	233,142	179,300	1,256,813	3,061,621	3,381,693	3,735,346
Calves						
Total receipts	.....	.....	175,025	136,310	380,835	499,941
Killed in Chicago...	.....	.....	113,559	122,250	354,008	464,742

The total value of the receipts of the Union Stockyards in 1910 was $342,543,856. The total value of the stock killed in Chicago was approximately $225,000,000.[2]

These figures show clearly that while there was a steady increase in the receipts of cattle and hogs in the Chicago yards up to 1890, there has been practically no increase since that time. The receipts of sheep and calves, on the other hand, have increased most rapidly in recent years. The following Table II shows the total receipts of cattle (including calves), hogs, and sheep in Chicago and in the three other leading packing-centers of the Middle West for the

[1] "Year Book of Figures, 1911," *Chicago Daily Farmers and Drovers Journal*, pp. 22, 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

years 1892, 1893, and 1894, compared with the total receipts for 1908, 1909, and 1910:[1]

TABLE II

	1892–93–94	1908–09–10
Cattle (including calves)—		
Chicago	10,248,647	10,353,295
Kansas City, East St. Louis, and Omaha	9,331,584	13,713,404
Hogs—		
Chicago	21,254,941	20,337,341
Kansas City, East St. Louis, and Omaha	14,617,500	22,435,961
Sheep—		
Chicago	8,275,978	14,022,607
Kansas City, East St. Louis, and Omaha	3,223,614	14,575,204

This table indicates that while in Chicago the receipts of cattle, including calves, and the receipts of hogs remained about stationary during the past 18 years, the receipts of its western competitors have increased about 50 per cent; and while the receipts of sheep in Chicago have increased about 75 per cent, the receipts of its three leading competitors farther west have increased over 350 per cent.

Thus it is clear that practically all the increase in the slaughtering business is taking place in cities west of Chicago, and that there is little likelihood of any great expansion of the slaughtering industry here in future years.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Chicago is doing nearly as much business as its three nearest competitors combined, and that for some years to come it is certain to remain the leading slaughtering and meat-packing center of the world. Even though there may be a slight decline in the slaughtering business itself, this probably will be offset by the rapid development of some of the by-product departments such as the manufacture of butterine.

These facts are significant for this study because they show the enormous scale on which the packing industry is conducted in Chicago, and the probability that conditions here will be comparatively stable in the future. It was stated above that the packing industry is likely to have less influence on this district in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

the future than it has in the past. The basis of this view, however, is not that fewer workers will be employed in the packing industry, but that new manufacturing industries are being developed in the neighborhood which are certain to have an important influence on the labor market.

NATURE OF THE STOCKYARDS DISTRICT

The packing industry has influenced more or less directly the life of the whole city of Chicago, but this study will be confined to the district extending half a mile west of the stockyards to Robey Street, and half a mile south of the stockyards to 51st Street. This district is commonly known as "Packingtown."

It is within this district that the majority of the packing-house workers, especially the unskilled, have their homes, and it is here that the University of Chicago Settlement does its chief work.

The population of this district, according to the census of 1910, was 48,413. The total area of the section between 39th Street on the north, 51st Street on the south, Halsted Street on the east, and Robey Street on the west is 1,440 acres, but only about 640 acres, including streets, parks, etc., are available for residence purposes, the rest being occupied by the stockyards, packing-houses, railroads, etc. Thus the density of the population of "Packingtown" is 75 to the acre, which may be compared with a density of 40 to the acre in the 480-acre tract immediately south bounded by 51st and 55th streets, Halsted and Robey. In the six and a half square miles of land available for residence purposes in the old Twenty-ninth Ward west of Robey Street, the population is only 3.5 to the acre. The significance of these figures will be discussed in detail later when the housing problem is discussed. It is sufficient for present purposes to note that there are 50,000 people, mostly dependent upon the packing industry for a living, dwelling immediately south and west of the stockyards on an area, including streets, vacant lots, etc., of one square mile.

Most of the people in this district are of foreign birth or parentage, but as the census figures on nationality are not yet available it is impossible to classify them accurately. Judging by the school census, it seems probable that the distribution of population is

approximately as follows: Polish (including Slovaks),[1] 18,000; Lithuanians, 12,000; German, 6,000; Bohemian, 5,000; Irish, 4,000; American, 2,000; others, 3,000.

During the past decade not only has there been a great increase of the population of this district—at least 75 per cent[2]—but there has also been a decided change in its makeup. There has been a tendency for the English-speaking element, as well as the Bohemians and Germans, to seek employment in other industries and to move farther south and west, while in their place has come an influx of Poles (including Slovaks) and Lithuanians. The change of the nationality of the workers in the packing-houses, and consequently of the families living in this district, is shown by the following statistics (Table III) furnished by one of the largest packing companies regarding the nationality of its employees:

TABLE III

	1896		1906		1909	
English-speaking (American, Irish, English, Scotch, etc.)	60.91		45.20		37.00	
German	16.74		11.89		10.33	
Bohemian	4.34		3.42		2.72	
		81.99		60.51		50.05
Polish and Slovak	13.18		16.78		19.20	
Lithuanian, Austrian, Russian, and Hungarian	0.77		21.14		27.16	
		13.95		37.92		46.36
Other nationalities		4.04		1.57		3.59
Total		100.00 per cent		100.00 per cent		100.00 per cent

(The above figures are for the male employees only, but the available records for the female employees, who constitute about one-seventh of all the workers in the plant, show exactly the same tendency.)

These figures, which are true not only of one company, but of all the companies in the stockyards, show clearly that the Poles (including Slovaks) and Lithuanians are rapidly supplanting the English-

[1] Though the Poles and Slovaks are distinct nationalities, their languages are closely related and their standards of living here are about the same. Hence for the purposes of this study they may be treated as a single group.

[2] This estimate is based upon the census figures of 1900 and 1910 for the old Twenty-ninth Ward.

speaking workers as well as the Germans and Bohemians. Leaving out of account several nationalities, whose numbers here are of minor importance, we find that in 1896, 82 per cent of the workers were English-speaking, Germans, and Bohemians, while in 1909 only 50 per cent were English-speaking, Germans, and Bohemians; on the other hand, in 1894, 14 per cent were Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians, while in 1909, 46 per cent were Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians.

WHY POLES, LITHUANIANS, AND SLOVAKS COME TO "PACKINGTOWN"

The question arises here: Why is it that the Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians are supplanting other nationalities, especially English-speaking, the packing industry, and consequently becoming the chief element in the community. The principle of the division of labor has been applied to all phases of the slaughtering and packing industry. Machinery has also been utilized wherever possible. The result is that most of the workers perform very simple processes requiring strength and quickness rather than skill.[1]

The effect of this division of labor upon the mind and body of the workers will be discussed in Part II of this paper. The point to be emphasized here is that the all-around skilled butcher, or skilled mechanic, is not needed in most departments of the packing industry. What is desired is the young, strong, willing worker who can do the work in a highly organized industrial machine. The

[1] The following quotation from the *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Corporations on the Beef Industry*, 1905, p. 17, indicates the extreme division of labor now prevailing in the large packing-plants of Chicago: "The following 157 employees were required in slaughtering 1,050 cattle in a working-day of 10 hours: 1 general foreman, 1 foreman over yard gang, 1 driving up cattle, 2 penning cattle, 2 knocking cattle, 2 shackling cattle, 1 hanging off for shackler, 1 squeegeeing blood from beds, 1 switching out heading beds and putting up heads, 1 throwing down heads, 1 pritching up, 1 dropping cattle, 1 pritching up helper, 1 sticker, 3 headers, 1 ripper, 4 leg breakers, 3 foot skinners, 1 gullet raiser, 7 floormen, 1 breast sawyer, 1 aitch sawyer, 2½ caul pullers, 2 putting in hooks to hoists for fell cutter, 1 floor squeegeer, 1 washing crutches and bellies, 4 fell cutters, 1 cutting out bladders, 2 rumpers, 1 rump helper and drop hide feller, 2 backers, 4 splitters, 1 back and rump hand, 1 washing hind shanks, 1 ripping tails and cutting out, 1 pulling tails, 2½ gutters, 2 throwing down guts and paunches, 3 tail sawyers, 2 hanging off from splitter, 3 beating out fells, 1 helper sawing tails and ripping open, 2 neck splitters, 1 tallow lot man, 1 trucking feet, 1 trucking up hooks, 1 hanging up hooks, 2 clearing out, 3 dropping hides. Washing gang: 1 foreman, 1 trimming bruises on rail, 1 wiping beef, 1 putting in neck and kidney cloths, 1 scribe sawyer, 1 hose man, 1 washing shanks, 1 switchman, 3 washing ribs and necks inside,

vigorous Polish, Slovak, and Lithuanian peasants are well adapted to this demand and consequently they are filling the places in ever-increasing numbers.

Moreover, they are cheap, as will be shown by the wage tables printed later. The Lithuanians, Poles, and Slovaks will work for wages which would seem small to the average American workingman. The standards of living of these workers are comparatively low and over half of them are boarders without families to support, so they can easily underbid Americans, Germans, and Bohemians.[1]

From the standpoint of the Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians the reasons for coming to "Packingtown" are obvious. Not only are economic opportunities in America superior to those of Europe, especially western Europe, but politically and socially there is much greater freedom and security. America has been, and still is, synonymous with opportunity in the minds of millions of European peasants—especially those who have been oppressed, such as the Poles and Lithuanians.[2] Slavic immigrants pour

1 squeegeeing beef, 1 pumping kidneys, 3 long truck washers, 1 washing rags, 2 wiping hinds, 2 ladder men (knife), 2 bruise trimmers, 1 cutting off cords and shanks, 1 tying veins, 3 trimming skirts and necks, 1 pumping necks.

"Weighing beef: 1 scaler, 1 grader, 1 pushing on scale or tagger, 1 pulling off scale, 1 elevator man. Refrigerator and car loading: 14 beef coolers, 5 trimmers, 7 carriers and loaders, 11 laborers.

"Sixty-three handling by-products: 1 hide inspector, 2 spreading out hides, 2 trucking up to chute, 1 throwing down paunches, 3 truckers, 2 peck machine hands, 1 taking off toes, 1 sawing shin bones, 1 hanging livers, 1 sawing horns, 1 chopping brains, 1 offal lot man, 1 ruffle man, 1 trimming glands, 1 washing tongues, 1 washing weasands, 1 foreman, 1 bed tallow hand, 1 tripe washer, 1 squeegeer, 1 scaler, 3 head boners.

"Twelve cooler men: 1 scaler, 1 cutting off pecks, 1 cutting off peck butter, 3 trimming paunches, 1 opening paunches, 3 handling pecks and trimming deeds, 1 trimming heart casings, 1 trimming small bungs, 1 trimming livers, 1 cutting off tongues, 1 trimming tongues, 1 pulling weasands, 1 trimming plucks, 1 trimming hearts, 1 trimming small cheek meats, 1 trimming cheek meat, 1 trimming sweet breads and tails, 1 cutting sinews."

The same principle has been applied, of course, in all other departments of the plant.

[1] The insurance records of three of the leading packing companies show that 53 per cent of their Slavic and Lithuanian male employees are single. Of the 47 per cent who are married a considerable number are living as single boarders, since their families have been left in Europe. The records of a Lithuanian and a Slovak church in the neighborhood show that 66 per cent of the male members are boarders.

[2] Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, chaps. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9.

into "Packingtown" in particular because it is a great market for unskilled labor. In the majority of cases they come at the suggestion of friends or relatives already established who can help them to get work and find homes. The newcomer may not find a job immediately but if he is young and strong he is sure to get work sooner or later. Moreover, now that the foreign colonies are well established, he is sure to find fellow-countrymen with whom he can live, a church of his own faith where he can hear the service in his own language, and various social institutions and organizations in which he is always welcome. Hence, even though the work may be poorly paid, and in many cases heavy and disagreeable, the Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians come to the stockyards district in large numbers and it seems probable that they will become increasingly important factors both in the packing industry and in the life of this community.

CHAPTER II

WAGES AND EARNINGS IN THE PACKING-HOUSES

Having seen in the foregoing chapter something of the extent and racial composition of the community about the Settlement, we may now consider the question: How are the people of this district affected by the wages prevailing in the packing-houses? Doubtless the most important respect in which conditions in the packing-houses directly affect the standard of living in "Packing-town" is through the prevailing scale of wages. It is certainly true that the standards of living in this community rise and fall with the scale of wages paid in the packing industry. Therefore one of the first questions to be answered here is: What are the wages paid in the Chicago packing-houses, and by what factors are these wages determined? The wage statistics presented in this paper are based, first, on careful study by several persons of the pay-rolls of two of the largest packing companies in the "yards" which courteously opened their books for examination; secondly, on reports furnished by timekeepers and officials of four of the largest packing companies; and thirdly, on a personal canvass of about 350 employees in different departments of the packing industry.

To be sure, the task of presenting the wage situation in the yards is difficult. On the pay-rolls minors, women, and adult men are grouped together. A great many employees shift from one department to another, or from one plant to another. Many work but a few days per week; others work only during certain months of the year. A decision as to the situation can be arrived at only after study and comparison of all the data presented below. These data represent cross-sections of the situation from different angles. Wherever possible, an attempt has been made to verify and check up results by comparing various tables.

Table I shows the income of two hundred and fifty employees in various departments of one of the packing-houses throughout the

year 1910.[1] The individual cases thus selected for study were picked in a way to make them representative of the situation in one of the largest plants in Chicago. Inasmuch as these employees worked throughout the entire year, it is probable that they were somewhat above the average, at least as regards steadiness of employment. The figures of this table are records of wages actually paid within a year and do not therefore in all cases represent fifty-two weekly payments, since some of the employees are missing from the pay-roll during one or more weeks because of illness, vacation, or unemployment.

TABLE I

ACTUAL EARNINGS OF 250 EMPLOYEES IN ONE OF THE LARGEST PACKING-HOUSES—1910

Income per Year in Dollars	Number of Employees	Percentage of All Cases Tabulated
251– 300	6	2.2
301– 350	4	1.6
351– 400	8	3.2
401– 450	10	4.0
451– 500	14	5.6
501– 550	32	12.8
551– 600	53	21.2
601– 650	17	6.8
651– 700	21	8.4
701– 750	23	9.2
751– 800	15	6.0
801– 850	14	5.8
851– 900	13	5.2
901– 950	15	6.0
951–1,000	5	2.0

The average yearly wage of these 250 employees was $634.80, or $12.20 per week. As will be seen by the table, 34 per cent of all the workers in this group secured incomes ranging between $500.00 and $600.00 per year.

We print below a second table showing the earnings of 100 employees in another large packing-house (Company 2) during the year 1910. These employees were selected from the various departments so that all groups would be represented and the average rate of wages would correspond with that paid in the plant as a whole.

[1] This company will be designated in the remainder of the report as Company 1, the next as Company 2, etc.

The average hourly rate of the 100 employees selected by us was slightly above 19 cents while that of the plant as a whole was 18.9 cents.

TABLE II

ACTUAL EARNINGS OF 100 EMPLOYEES IN PACKING-HOUSE 2 DURING THE YEAR 1910

Income per Year in Dollars	Number of Employees		Percentage of All Cases
	Male	Female	
Less than 250	1	1	2
251– 300	3	5	8
301– 350	4	1	5
351– 400	4	4	8
401– 450	10	1	11
451– 500	17	...	17
501– 550	14	1	15
551– 600	9	...	9
601– 650	4	...	4
651– 700	6	...	6
701– 750	2	...	2
751– 800	3	...	3
801– 850	2	...	2
851– 900	6	...	6
901– 950	...	...	...
951–1,000	...	...	...
Over 1,000	2	...	2

It will be seen that the average earnings of the workers in this group fall somewhat below those given in Table I. The majority of the workers here were earning between $350.00 and $600.00 a year, the average wage being $10.02 per week.

The following table (III) shows the average amount per week actually paid by Company 2 to its employees during two weeks of October, 1910.[1]

Table IV shows the average amount per week paid by the same company in the two weeks at the end of March and beginning of April, 1910.

While Tables III and IV show the average weekly wages actually paid by one of the largest companies at two different periods in the year, yet these statistics must be used with caution in attempting to estimate the yearly earnings of the various groups of workers.

[1] It should be understood that these are not the *nominal rates* of wages, but the amounts actually drawn by the workers on pay day.

For example, in both tables a considerable group are classified as receiving $4.00 per week or less. It is not to be inferred that there is a definite group of workers making on the average for the entire

TABLE III

A. Male Workers

	Number	Per Cent
$ 4.00 or less per week.....	705	9.94
4.01 to $ 5.00 " "	180	2.53
5.01 to 7.50 " "	436	6.14
7.51 to 9.00 " "	637	8.99
9.01 to 10.00 " "	843	11.88
10.01 to 12.00 " "	1,686	23.76
12.01 to 15.00 " "	1,402	19.76
15.01 to 20.00 " "	918	12.93
20.01 and over " "	289	4.07
	7,096	100.00

B. Female Workers

$ 4.00 or less per week.....	176	16.54
4.01 to $ 5.00 " "	110	10.35
5.01 to 6.00 " "	323	30.36
6.01 to 7.50 " "	190	17.86
7.51 to 9.00 " "	124	11.65
9.01 to 10.00 " "	56	5.26
10.01 to 12.00 " "	62	5.83
12.01 to 15.00 " "	20	1.88
15.01 and over " "	3	.003
	1,064	100.00

C. All Employees

$ 4.00 or less per week.....	881	10.95
4.01 to $ 5.00 " "	290	3.56
5.01 to 7.50 " "	949	11.63
7.51 to 9.00 " "	761	9.33
9.01 to 10.00 " "	899	11.02
10.01 to 12.00 " "	1,748	21.79
12.01 to 15.00 " "	1,422	17.41
15.01 to 20.00 " "	921	10.06
20.01 and over " "	289	3.54
	8,160	100.00

year less than $4.00 per week. It must be remembered that a man may be in the $4.00 group one week and in the $16.00 group the next week because of irregularity of work in certain departments.

As a matter of fact, with the exception of a few office boys and some of the female workers who have lost considerable time during the year, there are probably no employees in "Packingtown" whose

TABLE IV

A. Male Workers

	Number	Per Cent
$ 4.00 or less per week.....	728	12.64
4.01 to $ 5.00 " "	225	3.90
5.01 to 7.50 " "	973	16.89
7.51 to 9.00 " "	953	16.54
9.01 to 10.00 " "	594	10.31
10.01 to 12.00 " "	837	14.53
12.01 to 15.00 " "	703	11.98
15.01 to 20.00 " "	515	8.76
20.01 and over " "	234	4.06
	5,762	100.00

B. Female Workers

$ 4.00 or less per week.....	121	14.12
4.01 to $ 5.00 " "	226	26.37
5.01 to 6.00 " "	210	24.51
6.01 to 7.50 " "	192	22.41
7.51 to 9.00 " "	74	8.63
9.01 to 10.00 " "	20	2.33
10.01 to 12.00 " "	11	1.28
12.01 to 15.00 " "	3	.004
15.01 and over " "	0	.00
	857	100.00

C. All Employees

$ 4.00 or less per week.....	849	12.83
4.01 to 5.00 " "	451	6.82
5.01 to 7.50 " "	1,375	20.78
7.51 to 9.00 " "	1,027	15.51
9.01 to 10.00 " "	614	9.28
10.01 to 12.00 " "	848	12.81
12.01 to 15.00 " "	706	10.66
15.01 to 20.00 " "	515	7.78
20.01 and over " "	234	3.53
	6,619	100.00

average weekly wages throughout the whole year are as low as $4.00. On the other hand, a considerable number of the workers are paid as low as $4.00 per week at certain periods in the year when

work in their department is slack. This explains why there are approximately 10 per cent of the employees on every pay-roll drawing $4.00 per week or less.

It will be noted that there is considerable difference in the grouping of the wage-earners in October and April. This is due to the fact that the number of hours of work in October is somewhat higher than the number in April. The fluctuations in employment in "Packingtown" may be roughly indicated by the following statistics showing the total number of employees on the pay-roll of Company 2 at the end of each four-week period throughout the year.

TABLE V

Date	Number of Employees	Date	Number of Employees
November 20	6,523	June 4	5,641
December 18	7,041	July 2	5,847
January 15	6,799	July 30	6,272
February 12	6,317	August 27	6,520
March 12	6,119	September 24	6,754
April 9	5,862	October 22	7,046
May 7	5,702		

The great variation in the number of workers indicates that there must be considerable unemployment in "Packingtown," and this course tends to decrease wages. In some departments the workers lose approximately one-third of their time through unemployment, but in the majority of the departments work is much more steady. From the variations shown above it would seem that there are 25 per cent of the packing-house workers who are at some periods unemployed. It is probable that the total number of unemployed in "Packingtown" fluctuates between 2,000 and 7,000. The accompanying photograph, taken at the employment office of one of the large companies at 7:00 A.M., June 1, 1910, shows a typical group waiting for work.[1]

[1] Cf. with study made by Misses Edith Abbott and S. P. Breckinridge, "Women in Industry, the Chicago Stockyards," *Journal of Political Economy*, October, 1911, p. 647. According to this study over 50 per cent of the women employed by one of the largest packing companies were idle continuously from one to twenty weeks per year because of "no work."

While we have no accurate methods of determining the extent to which wages are reduced by unemployment, yet it should be borne in mind in considering Tables I and II that some allowance must be made on this account since these workers belong to the group which is most steadily employed.

The wage tables presented thus far represent only two companies. A third company, one of the largest in the stockyards, furnished the following table showing the rates of wages paid per hour to its employees:

TABLE VI

RATES OF WAGES PAID BY COMPANY 3

	Per Cent
12 cents per hour	1.49
15 " " "	12.99
16½ " " "	29.39
17½ " " "	25.32
18½ " " "	2.79
20 " " "	9.35
22½ " " "	4.86
23½ " " "	.59
25 " " "	3.47
26½ " " "	1.24
27½ " " "	2.97
29 " " "	.42
30 " " "	2.11
32½ " " "	1.27
35 " " "	1.06
37½ " " "	.17
46 " " "	.13
50 " " "	.38
	100.00

This company states that during the year 1910 its cattle gang worked on an average 37½ hours per week; its sheep gang 36½ hours per week, and its hog gang 34½ hours per week. If we multiply the rate of wages per hour by that average number of hours per week we get the average weekly amount received in the killing gangs for this company. Assuming now that the same average rate of wages is paid in the cattle gang of Company 3 as in that of Company 2—namely, 22½ cents per hour—the average weekly earnings in the

cattle killing gang of Company 3 would be $37\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or $8.44. The average wage of the sheep and hog gang is lower than that of the cattle gang so these facts would indicate that the weekly earnings of the killing gangs of one of the large packing companies were approximately $8.00 during the year 1910.

The killing gangs, of course, constitute only a portion of the workers in any large packing-plant; therefore, it would be incorrect to say that the average earnings of these gangs represented the average earnings in the whole plant. As a rule the hours worked in other departments of the plant range from 50 to 60 per week. However, the regularity of work for the killing gangs determines the regularity of work in many other departments of the plant. Other things being equal, it would probably be true that the plant having the most regular work and the highest wages in its killing departments would have the most regular work and highest wages in other departments. As stated above, the cattle killing gang of Company 3 worked an average of $37\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week during 1910; the sheep gang $36\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week, and the hog gang $34\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. The cattle gang of Company 2 whose books were opened for examination worked on an average 41 hours per week during 1910, the sheep gang 43 hours, and the hog gang 38.8 hours. Therefore, if the rate of wages was equally high it would appear that the workers of Company 2 were better paid than those of Company 3 since they worked longer hours. As Table VII shows, 34.5 per cent of the time workers of Company 2 were paid 18 cents per hour or more, while only 30.7 per cent of the workers of Company 3 were paid 18 cents per hour or more.

It would seem clear from these facts that, on account of the fewer hours' work and the larger percentage of low-paid workers, the average amounts paid to the workers of Plant 3, at least in several departments, are less than those paid to workers of Plant 2.

In the plant of Company 4, according to the superintendent and the timekeeper, the rate of wages is approximately the same as that prevailing in Plant 2, although in a few cases it is a little higher; but the hours of work in the killing gangs, and consequently in other departments, are somewhat more regular, and therefore the weekly earnings are higher. While the hours of work of the

cattle, hog, and sheep gangs of Company 2 averaged respectively 41, 38.8, and 43, the time put in by the corresponding gangs of Company 4 averaged 48.5, 44, and 40 hours, respectively. In Plant 4, therefore, it is probable that the earnings are more than those paid in Plant 2, the margin of difference varying in the various departments.

TABLE VII

	Company No. 2*	Company No. 3
	Per Cent	Per Cent
12½ cents per hour or less	12.59	1.49
13–15 " " "	8.66	12.99
16–16½ " " "	23.99	29.39
17–17½ " " "	20.24	25.32
18–20 " " "	13.72	12.14
21–27½ " " "	14.11	13.13
28–35 " " "	4.97	4.86
36–45 " " "	1.11	.30
46–50 " " "	.40	.38
50 " " "	.21	.00
	100.00	100.00

* The larger percentage of low-paid workers on the roll of Company 2 is due to the fact that it employs a larger percentage of women than Company 3.

The wage statistics presented thus far were gathered by our own investigators. We print below in Table VIII statistics of hours of work and wages furnished us by Company 1. The average weekly wage paid by Company 1 during 1910 according to this statement was $11.72.

TABLE VIII

FURNISHED BY COMPANY 1

This statement includes men, boys, and girls; also broken time gangs

	Year 1903	Year 1904	Year 1910	Year 1911	Year 1912	Present 1913
Average number employees	6,226	5,412	5,290	5,547	5,726	Between
Average rate per hour.....	$0.2061	$0.2071	$0.2100	$0.2124	$0.2120	4 and 5
Average hours per week...	54⅞	54 1/10	55⅞	56⅞	57⅞	per cent
Average weekly earnings..	$11.29	$11.20	$11.72	$11.99	$12.26	increase

The statistics and statements gathered from the packing companies were compared with records kept of the income of about 350 workers for periods ranging from two months to a full year. The average weekly wage of one group of 148 of these workers was

$9.70. The record of most of these workers was kept for six months or more. Records of a second group of about 200 workers were kept for only eight weeks. The average wage of this group was approximately $8.00, the combined average of the two groups being $8.88. This average is considerably lower than that shown in our previous tables, and is accounted for by the fact that nearly all the workers included were unskilled and among the more poorly paid employees.

We may summarize the material thus far presented in regard to earnings as follows: Table I, giving the actual wages of 250 employees in Plant 1 for the year 1910, showed an average weekly wage of $12.20. Thirty-four per cent of the employees in this group earned between $500.00 and $600.00 per year. Table II, giving the actual wages of 100 employees of Company 2 during the year 1910, showed an average weekly wage of $10.02. Twenty-four per cent of the employees in this group earned between $500.00 and $600.00 per year. Table III, which classified the wages paid by Company 2 during two weeks in October of 1910, showed that 33 per cent of the employees at that time earned between $9.00 and $12.00 per week. Table IV, classifying the wages paid by the same company in April during a duller period of the year, showed that 47 per cent of the workers were paid between $7.50 and $12.00 per week at that time. Tables VI and VII, which give the hours of labor and rates of wages paid by Company 3, indicate that the average earnings of the employees of this Company were lower than the earnings of the employees of Company 2. The statements made by representatives of Company 4 indicate that the wages paid in this plant were higher than those paid by Company 2. According to an official statement made by Company 1, the average wage of all workers in their employ during the year 1910 was $11.72 per week.

As was stated above, the object of these various tables and statements is to furnish cross-sections of the wage situation in the various packing companies which will enable one to ascertain with a reasonable accuracy the earnings of the packing-house employees. The chief element of uncertainty is found in the unemployment and shifting of large groups of workers. No satisfactory method was

found for presenting this phase of the situation. While there is considerable difference in the results obtained in our various tables, in our own opinion in 1910 the average weekly earnings of the majority of the workers ran from $8.50 to $12.50 per week, the common wage being in the neighborhood of $10.00 or $11.00.

MOVEMENT OF WAGES

It is important to know, however, not only what the wage conditions are but also what they are becoming. Therefore the following tables prepared from the books of Company 1, showing the rates of wages paid in October 1896, 1903, and 1910, are given.

Table IX shows that between 1896 and 1903 the number of male workers earning 8⅔ cents or less per hour was reduced from 4.2 per cent to 1.5 per cent of the total male working force. The elimination of so many of these workers, most of whom were boys, was probably due to the passage of a child labor law in 1900 which made the employment of children under sixteen inconvenient because it limited their hours of work to 8 per day. As the table indicates, this elimination of child labor has continued so that today children under sixteen are hardly to be found in any department of the packing industry except as office and messenger boys.

TABLE IX

COMPARATIVE WAGE SCALE OF MALE WORKERS

Rate per Hour	October 18–31, 1896		October 11–22, 1903		October 9–22, 1910	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
8⅔ cents or less	254	4.2	107	1.5	12	0.2
9–10	199	3.5	200	2.3	63	1.0
11–12½	236	4.1	150	2.3	173	2.6
13–15	2,187	38.0	230	3.3	607	9.3
16–16½	593	10.3	301	4.3	1,719	26.5
17–17½	575	9.9	1,390	19.9	1,450	22.3
18–20	801	13.9	2,991	42.8	982	15.1
21–27½	762	13.2	1,278	18.3	1,010	15.6
28–35	108	1.8	264	3.8	357	5.5
36–45	38	0.7	45	0.6	80	1.1
46–50	1	0.02	23	0.3	29	0.5
50 and over	1	0.02	2	0.03	16	0.2
	5,755		6,981		6,498	
Piece-workers	359		644		598	

TABLE X

COMPARATIVE WAGE SCALE OF FEMALE WORKERS

Rate per Hour	October 18–31, 1896		October 11–22, 1903		October 9–22, 1910	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
8⅔ cents or less....	101	81.5	341	67.4	36	5.3
9–10.....	10	8.1	127	25.1	502	72.6
11–12½.....	39	7.3	26	5.1	119	17.1
13–15.....	3	2.4	9	1.8	15	2.2
16–16½.....	...	...	...	...	5	0.8
17–17½.....	1	0.8	2	0.4	4	0.6
18–20.....	...	...	1	0.2	5	0.8
21–27½.....	...	...	...	...	4	0.6
	154		506		690	
Piece-workers.....	13		354		374	

TABLE XI

COMPARATIVE WAGE SCALE—ALL EMPLOYEES

Rate per Hour	October 18–31, 1896		October 11–22, 1903		October 9–22, 1910	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
8⅔ cents or less....	355	6.04	448	5.98	48	0.67
9–10.....	209	3.55	327	4.37	565	7.86
11–12½.....	245	4.17	176	2.35	292	4.06
13–15.....	2,190	37.25	239	3.21	622	8.66
16–16½.....	593	10.09	301	4.02	1,724	23.99
17–17½.....	576	9.80	1,392	18.59	1,454	20.24
18–20.....	801	13.62	2,992	39.96	987	13.72
21–27½.....	762	12.96	1,278	17.07	1,014	14.11
28–35.....	108	1.84	264	3.53	357	4.97
36–45.....	38	0.65	45	0.60	80	1.11
46–50.....	1	0.0002	23	0.31	29	0.40
50 and over.....	1	0.0002	2	0.0003	16	0.21
	5,879		7,487		7,188	
Piece-workers.....	372		998		972	

The second point indicated by Table IX is that there was a general increase in wages for all grades of labor between 1896 and 1903. For example, in 1896, 60.1 per cent of all the male workers received 16½ cents or less per hour, while in 1903 only 14.3 per cent of the male workers were paid 16½ cents or less per hour. The great majority of those who had been getting 15, 16, and 16½ cents per hour in 1896 were raised to 17, 17½, and 18 cents per hour by 1903—

an increase of 2 cents per hour all around. The number getting 21 cents and over per hour was increased from 15.7 per cent in 1896 to 23 per cent of the whole force in 1903.

During the same period, as is shown by Table X, p. 20, the number of women getting over 8⅔ cents per hour increased from 18½ per cent of the total number to 32.6 per cent of the total number. Taking all the men and women together as is done in Table XI, p. 20 it will be seen that there is a considerable grading-up of wages, as is shown by the fact that in 1896, 61.1 per cent of all workers in the plant (excluding piece-workers) received 16½ cents or less per hour, while in 1903 only 19.93 per cent of all the workers received 16½ cents or less per hour.

The movement of wages during 1903 to 1910 was not, however, so favorable to the employees as in the period 1896 to 1903. To be sure, the percentage of the very low-paid workers decreased considerably, so that where, in 1903, 5.98 per cent of all employed had been getting 8⅔ cents per hour, in 1910 only one-fifth of 1 per cent of the male workers were in this group and only 0.67 per cent of all the workers. On the other hand, the number of the moderately paid workers increased obviously both at the expense of the lower and of the higher groups. Thus from Table XI we see that in 1903, 38.52 per cent of all employed were in groups lower than 18 cents per hour, but that in 1910, 65.48 per cent were in this group. The 16- to 16½-cent group gained 19.97 per cent; the 18- to 20-cent group lost 26.24 per cent. On the other hand, the highly paid group gained in 1910 more than 2.25 per cent, being represented by the figure 4.44 per cent in 1903 and by 6.69 per cent in 1910. The situation can be summed up thus: There had been an upward movement all around up to 1903. After this the very low-paid groups tend to disappear, high-paid groups slightly increase in percentage, and the bulk of the workers show an average downward tendency of about 1 or 1½ cents per hour. According to the statement made by Company 1, the average wage of the entire plant increased between 1903 and 1910 four mills per hour as shown by Table VIII.

Various explanations are offered to account for this trend in wages. Perfected methods, it is alleged, made it possible to substitute unskilled workers for more skilled; women for men, etc. The

employment of Slavs is said to have brought about a lower standard of living. Lastly, but not least, in the opinion of many, the lowering of wages immediately after 1903–4 was due to the breakdown of the unions.[1]

The relative degree of influence of these three forces is hardly ascertainable with any great accuracy. That all these forces were at work is beyond doubt. As to the causes of increase of the wages of the lowest-paid and the highest-paid groups it seems to be clear that the increased cost of living and the pressure of public opinion, or the good will of the packers, are responsible for the almost complete elimination of the 8⅔-cent group, while the economically advantageous position of the very skilled made it possible for them to better their conditions. These workers cannot be supplanted by women or unskilled foreigners. The wage problem seems thus to be concentrated in the middle group rather than at the extremes.

REAL WAGES AND INCREASED COST OF LIVING

The statistics given show that many of the workers in the packing industry were paid a lower rate of wages in 1910 than was paid in 1903, and while the money income of the workers in certain departments of the packing-houses has been decreasing the cost of living has been increasing. *Bulletin 93* of the United States Department of Commerce and Labor, p. 318, shows that if the average wholesale price of 257 commodities be represented by the figure 114.6 in 1903, the price of an equal amount of the same commodities in 1910 would be represented by 131.6. Some of these 257 commodities are used very little by families in the stockyards district. Therefore one hundred[2] of the commodities most commonly used by these families were selected and it was found that if the average

[1] Note Commons, *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, p. 233.

[2] The following articles were included in the one hundred selected as a basis for our statistics regarding the increase in the cost of living. Wherever a figure is given, it is for the purpose of indicating that two, three, four, or five grades of the commodity were included in the list. Beans 2, Bread 5, Butter 3, Cheese 2, Coffee 2, Eggs 4, Fish 4, Flour 4, Fruit 3, Lard, Corn Meal 2, Bacon 2, Beef 5, Ham, Mutton, Pork 4, Milk 4, Molasses, Rice, Salt, Spices, Starch, Sugar 2, Onions, Potatoes 3, Vinegar, Blankets, Shoes 3, Calico, Carpets, Cotton Flannels 2, Denims, Drillings, Gingham, Hosiery 3, Sole Leather, Overcoating, Sheetings 4, Shirtings 2, Suitings 2, Clothing, Underwear, Dress Goods 3, Coal 3, Oil, Earthenware, Beds, Chairs 2, Tables, Glassware, Woodenware, Soap, Tobacco.

wholesale price of these commodities be represented by the figure 98.4 in 1903, the price of an equal amount of the same commodities in 1910 would be represented by 114.8. Although there are slight variations in wholesale prices in different sections of the country, and although retail prices do not always correspond exactly with wholesale prices, still it is probably safe to say that these figures do not exaggerate the increase in the cost of living in the stockyards district. Thus while the wages of the mass of unskilled workers in the packing industry seem to have been reduced or at least have remained practically stationary between 1903 and 1910, the cost of living increased 16.5 per cent.

THE SITUATION IN 1913

This investigation, on the whole, deals with the situation up to and including the year 1910. Yet it should be said that in at least some of the plants favorable changes have taken place since. The statement of wages given by Company 1, for example, indicates an increase in wage rates of over 5 per cent since 1910 and a still greater increase in actual earnings because of longer hours of work. This statement has been borne out by an examination of the payrolls of Company 1 for the first six months of 1913. The same company has definitely adopted the policy of paying for not less than forty hours' work to every employee regardless of the actual amount of time put in during the week.

While it is probably true that there has been a general upward trend in the packing-house wage scales since 1913, there has also been an increase in the cost of living. The latest bulletin on prices issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 132, gives the retail prices of fifteen foodstuffs (sirloin steak, round steak, rib roast, pork chops, bacon, ham, lard, hens, flour, corn meal, eggs, butter, sugar, and milk). The expenditures for these articles, according to the bulletin, represent approximately two-thirds of the average expenditure for food in workingmen's families. The increase in the retail price of these foods in the North Central States from 1910 to June, 1913, was, on an average, 10.8 per cent. Thus it appears that the increase in the cost of living has equaled, if not exceeded, the increase in wages.

CHAPTER III

THE WAGES OF UNSKILLED LABOR IN INDUSTRIES OUTSIDE OF THE CHICAGO STOCKYARDS

By MISS ALICE DURAND

It seems desirable in connection with a report on wages and working conditions in the packing-houses in Chicago to show general wage tendencies in other localities and in other industries, so that the situation brought out in this report may have something of a setting in the broad industrial situation of which it is a part. A group of industries has been chosen which resemble the slaughtering and meat-packing establishments in Chicago in the fact of employing great numbers of recent immigrants at unskilled labor. The choice of industries is limited by scarcity of authoritative data regarding wages; and even in the case of those industries which have been chosen, information, while backed up in most instances by the authority of the federal government, is scattered and far from satisfactory. The material given herewith affords, however, a fairly accurate index of the wages, and in some cases of the annual earnings and family incomes of the ordinary workers in some of the great basic industries employing many foreigners. The data presented cover: (1) wages in slaughtering and meat-packing establishments in Kansas City and South Omaha; (2) wages in the manufacture of men's ready-made clothing in Chicago; (3) wages in the steel industry, especially in the Great Lakes district.

I. WAGES AND FAMILY INCOMES IN SLAUGHTERING AND MEAT-PACKING ESTABLISHMENTS IN KANSAS CITY AND SOUTH OMAHA

The greater part of the material here given is derived from the forthcoming report of the United States Immigration Commission;[1] this report is based upon a broad and thorough investigation of the industrial conditions of immigrants in all parts of the United

[1] Reports of the Immigration Commission: *Immigrants in Industries*, in 25 parts. Part 11: *Slaughtering and Meat Packing*. 1911.

States, and while the methods of collecting data employed by the commission may not have insured entire accuracy, sufficiently large numbers were studied to insure at least a fair representation of actual conditions. The information was secured from the employees themselves; in the case of the "study of households" the families were visited by agents of the commission, and information secured from each member of the household, whether lodger, boarder, or member of the immediate family; while for the "study of employees" schedules were furnished to the employees, and were filled out by the individual employees or by some supposedly competent person for them. The annual earnings and family incomes are the estimates of the individual wage-earners, with due allowance for time lost through sickness or slack work. How difficult it would be to make such an estimate by running back over twelve months, particularly in the case of an industry so irregular in the employment offered as that of slaughtering and meat-packing, is obvious enough; when income is derived not only from wages, but also from the payment of irregular boarders, the difficulties seriously multiply. There are bound to be understatements and overstatements; in a locality where there has been regulation of overcrowding, income from lodgers will be understated.

For the study of family incomes, elimination was made of the families established less than one year, of those living two or more per "household" under complicated financial arrangements which made income from boarders and other sources uncertain, and of those where net earnings of the contributing members were for any reason uncertain.[1]

A. KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

The Labor Force: Race and Racial Changes

In the Chicago stockyards district the past ten years have shown a supplanting of English-speaking workers, Germans, Swedes, and Bohemians, by south- and east-Europeans, largely Slavic peoples. In Kansas City very much the same process has been going on. Here Croatians are at present the dominant race in the packing-houses. In Kansas City, 341 families, representing

[1] See *Slaughtering and Meat Packing*, pp. 410, 413.

2,136 individuals, were studied; of these, 90 per cent were in households of which the head was foreign born, while the remainder were in households where the head was native born and of native stock. Fifty-seven per cent of all the individuals were in families where the head was Croatian by birth.[1] For about 1,500 of these people detailed information was secured as to race, length of time in the United States, former occupation, wages, and so forth. Of these, 88 per cent were foreign by birth or parentage, 53 per cent Croatian, and another 16 per cent Polish, Slovak, and Slovenian. Germans and Irish made up about 18 per cent of those of foreign birth or stock. Only 11.6 were native born of native parentage.[2]

In addition to the individuals included in these families, 7,023 employees were studied, 47 per cent of whom were foreign born, while another 10 per cent were of foreign parentage; 16 per cent were Negroes; 26 per cent were of native white stock. A great medley of races was represented among the foreign born; Croatians showed the highest percentage—14.9; then followed Germans, Polish, Greek, Irish, Russian, Servian, Slovak, Austrian of unspecified race, and a dozen others. Something more than a quarter of all the employees studied were of Slavic races.[3]

In Kansas City there has been the same story of racial displacement that has been found in Chicago, though the process has not gone quite so far, and very likely may never go so far, since the Negro population constitutes so adequate a labor supply. Up to 1890, Irish, English, Germans, and Swedes, largely migrants from Chicago, were exclusively employed in the packing-houses. Then Croatians, Poles, and Slovaks, at first from Chicago, later directly from Europe, began to appear, and the immigration of the races formerly dominant practically ceased. Few races of the older immigration have gone into the industry in the past twenty years, and many formerly employed there have gone into other occupations. About half of the 3,000 foreign-born employees studied had been less than five years in the United States, and 70 per cent had been less than ten years in the United States; those in this

[1] See *Slaughtering and Meat Packing*, p. 268.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

country with their families show a longer residence, but still 71 per cent had been here less than ten years.[1]

The employment of immigrants was said to be due solely to insufficiency of other labor; the companies stated that they would prefer Germans, Swedes, and other northern Europeans if they could secure them. Of immigrant labor there is no special shortage; a sufficient number of laborers can be picked up at the gates each morning. All men are employed at the gate of the packing-houses through special employment officers. Since the great bulk of operations do not require great skill and since a high point of efficiency can be reached with a few days' experience, the difficulties of keeping a supply of "skilled" labor are not great.[2]

Wages and Incomes

1. *Daily wages.*—The day wage reported was in all probability fairly accurate; errors of under- and overstatement ought reasonably to cancel one another. Of the male employees eighteen years of age and over, 73 per cent, out of 6,219 individuals reporting, worked at a daily wage of $1.75 or over; 45 per cent at $2.00 or more a day; 7 per cent at $3.00 or over a day. The foreign born worked at distinctly lower rates than the group as a whole, only about a third making $2.00 a day; and the recent immigrants—the Russians, Croatians, Slovenians, Poles, and Slovaks—worked at a rate lower than that for the foreign-born group as a whole; in these races about a quarter made the $2.00 rate. They represent typically the unskilled labor of the industry. The following condensed table (p. 28) indicates the general situation.

This table suggests a great crowd of unskilled foreign workers earning the typical $1.75 a day; it is only fair to point out, however, that earning capacity on the part of the foreign born increases with length of residence; for instance, Croatians who have been here less than five years in only 17 per cent of all cases worked at the rate of $2.00 a day, while of those who have been here ten years or more, 47 per cent worked at that rate. Polish workers show even greater economic development; only 13 per cent of the newcomers earned $2.00 a day, but of the small number who had been in the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 275–76.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 278, 285.

United States ten years, 57 per cent earned as much or more than $2.00.[1] Such comparison as this, however, is vitiated by the small numbers who have been here ten years or over, and to some extent also by the possibility that the earlier comers were of a somewhat different type from the more recent immigrants of these races.

PERCENTAGE OF MALE EMPLOYEES EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE OR OVER EARNING EACH SPECIFIED AMOUNT PER DAY, BY GENERAL NATIVITY AND RACE OF FOREIGN BORN

Nativity	Number Reporting	Percentage Earning Each Specified Amount per Day				
		$1.50 or Over	$1.75 or Over	$2.00 or Over	$2.50 or Over	$3.00 or Over
Native born of foreign father....	620	99.0	84.7	62.7	35.2	12.3
Total native born..	3,184	98.8	82.0	57.4	28.9	9.5
Foreign born.....	3,035	99.0	63.6	32.9	12.4	4.5
Croatian.....	968	99.6	65.7	27.5	9.4	2.5
German.....	327	99.4	88.4	66.7	30.0	14.1
Greek.....	198	97.5	29.3	9.1	1.5	.0
Irish.....	184	97.8	87.5	62.5	27.2	10.9
Polish.....	302	98.7	51.0	21.9	2.6	.7
Russian.....	163	100.0	42.9	16.0	3.1	.6
Slovak.....	81	100.0	63.0	27.2	2.5	.0
Slovenian.....	109	98.2	57.8	32.1	9.2	2.8
Swedish.....	80	100.0	95.0	68.8	41.3	15.0
Total.....	6,219	98.9	73.0	45.5	20.9	7.0

(The table includes races with 80 or more reporting; the totals are for all races.)

2. *Weekly wages.*—The Kansas State Bureau of Labor presented in 1909 classified weekly earnings for the leading industries of the state, including 19 establishments engaged in slaughtering and packing. The data are furnished by the employers on schedules provided by the state, and cover earnings during the week when the greatest number were employed in such establishments—11,899 in all. Of these, 10 per cent of the 10,913 men over sixteen were earning less than $9.00; more than a quarter were earning between $9.00 and $10.00, and more than half between $9.00 and $12.00; 36 per cent made $12 or over. These earnings, it will be seen, are somewhat lower than the daily wages reported by the Immigration Commission, which showed 45 per cent earning $2.00 or over a day; the discrepancy may be due in part to the fact that

[1] See *Slaughtering and Meat Packing*, p. 288, table.

the figures of the State Bureau of Labor include employees younger than those studied by the commission, that establishments outside Kansas City, paying lower wages, may be included; it may also represent that irregularity of employment within the week which detracts from the significance of any statement of daily wages. The table is given herewith, in slightly condensed form:

NUMBERS OF MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN EARNING CLASSIFIED AMOUNTS, AND PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL NUMBER EARNING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS IN SLAUGHTERING AND PACKING ESTABLISHMENTS (KANSAS CITY, 1909) (19 ESTABLISHMENTS)*

Earnings per Week	Total Wage-Earners	Men †		Women †	Children	Percentage of Total
		No.	Percentage			
Under $5	222	134	1.23	46	42	1.86
$ 5–$ 8.99	1,681	1,043	9.55	493	171	14.13
9– 9.99	2,884	2,820	25.84	38	...	24.23
10– 11.99	3,113	2,972	27.23	141	...	26.16
12– 14.99	2,265	2,227	20.41	38	...	19.03
15– 19.99	1,333	1,316	12.06	17	...	11.23
20 and over	401	401	3.68	...	...	3.36
	11,899	10,913	100.00	773	213	

* Kansas Bureau of Labor and Industry, *Annual Rept.*, 1909, p. 26.

† Sixteen and over.

These figures for weekly wages show something like the same wage scale as that which obtained for men in the Chicago stockyards during the busy week studied. In Chicago, 39.47 per cent were earning $10 or less; this table shows 36 per cent of the adult men earning less than $10; in Chicago, 82 per cent of the men in the busy week were earning $15 or less; while in Kansas City something more than 83 per cent were earning less than $15. There is no genuine basis of comparison, but the general indication is that wages in Chicago run somewhat higher than wages in Kansas City when the week is taken as the unit of comparison.

3. *Annual earnings.*—Day rates and weekly earnings, of course, mean very little. A very rough notion of the extent to which the irregularity of the industry cuts working time is offered by the commission report. When one remembers that these estimates are based on the memories of foreigners, largely speaking through interpreters, regarding a situation running back over twelve months

of employment, short hours per day and short days per week and lost weeks per month, the extreme roughness of the guesses becomes apparent; but they are offered for what they may be worth as suggestion. Only 45 per cent had worked the twelve months, and less than three-quarters had reached the nine months' mark. The Germans and Croatians show less steadiness of employment than the group as a whole, but the Poles apparently worked somewhat more regularly than the average.[1]

The Kansas Bureau of Labor reports an average annual wage of $553.27 for the men, women, and children employed;[2] the average annual earnings according to the Immigration Commission is $541 for the heads of families studied.[3] While average earnings are very unreliable, such figures are suggestive and have value in automatically taking into account irregularities of employment. Classified annual earnings are more satisfactory than averages; these show, in the case of the 311 heads of households studied by the commission, 68 per cent earning less than $600 a year, while 42 per cent earned between $400 and $600. Of the foreign born, three-quarters earned less than $600. Seventy-five per cent of the native born and 92 per cent of the foreign born earned less than $800.[4] The newer immigrants show smaller earnings than the German and Irish.

[1] *Immigrants in Industries*, Part 11, p. 299, table.

[2] *Annual Rept.*, 1909, p. 26. Topeka, 1910.

[3] *Rept. Imm. Comm.*, pp. 290–91.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

PERCENTAGE OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES EARNING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS PER YEAR, BY GENERAL NATIVITY AND RACE

General Race and Nativity	Number	Percentage Earning			
		Under $400	Under $600	Under $800	Under $1,000
Native born, native father	41	4.9	29.3	75.6	92.7
Foreign born:					
Croatian	172	32.6	79.7	95.3	98.8
German	41	24.4	68.3	78.0	92.7
Irish	11	*	*	*	*
Polish	46	28.3	71.7	95.7	95.7
Grand total	311	26.0	68.5	89.7	95.8
Total native	41	4.9	29.3	75.6	92.7
Total foreign	270	29.3	74.4	91.9	96.3

* Numbers too small to be computed as percentages.

4. *Family incomes.*—Three hundred and twelve families—271 of which the head was foreign born—reported annual incomes. Sixty-one and two-tenths per cent had incomes for the whole family of less than $750 for the year, a proportion which rises in the case of the foreign born to 65 per cent. About a fifth of the whole group had incomes between $750 and $1,000.[1] In only one of the families studied did these incomes represent the earnings of a wife at work outside the household, but in a large number of families the earnings of the husband and children were pieced out by income from boarders and lodgers. About a third of the families kept boarders and lodgers, the numbers steadily decreasing as the earnings of the husband increased; nearly half of the families where the income was under $400 kept boarders, while barely a quarter had boarders when the husband's wages were $600 and over. The question of causal relation between low earnings and boarders is, of course, a complex one; boarders and lodgers may be the characteristic of the newly arrived families where earnings are low, but where other motives besides the purely economic may be present: the sociable idea of taking into the household one's newly arrived kinspeople or fellow-countrymen, the pioneer quality of the life, and so on; on the other hand, it may be argued that it is the unskilled, inefficient type who are willing to live in the crowded, uncomfortable conditions that lodgers and boarders involve and who are incapable of earning a higher wage.[2]

B. SOUTH OMAHA, NEBRASKA

The Labor Force: Race and Racial Changes

In South Omaha, where, according to the census of 1905, 5,339 wage-earners were employed in the packing-houses, 4,660 employees and 339 households were included in the investigation of the Immigration Commission; in the families, 88 per cent of the people for whom data were secured were in families where the head was foreign born, Bohemians and Moravians constituting a large proportion of the foreign born, with Germans and Poles next in order. The members of these households show a rather striking

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 292–93, table.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 294, table.

excess of males—the characteristic of new immigrant families which at once suggests the presence of a large number of unmarried men and the lodger evil.[1] Ninety per cent of the 1,716 members of households for whom detailed information was secured were foreign by birth or parentage.[2]

The employees studied were extremely varied in race; native-born whites constituted 13 per cent, as compared with 26 per cent in Kansas City; Negroes were 4 per cent; 9.5 per cent were sons of German and Irish immigrants. Among the foreign born there was a larger proportion of Bohemians and Moravians than of any other race; Polish, Irish, German, Croatians, Lithuanians, Japanese, Roumanians, and Swedish had a fair representation, while small numbers of Finns, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Koreans, Magyars, Montenegrins, Mexicans, and so on, were included. Here again there has been a history of racial changes. In 1887, when the packing-houses were first opened in South Omaha, the greater part of the employees were foreign-born Irish; Germans began coming in large numbers two years later. Poles and Bohemians came in 1890, forming separate communities, and these people, with the Germans, Irish, and native Americans, were the only races working in the packing-houses before 1900. At that time the south-Europeans began to come, largely from the Chicago packing-houses, and for the past ten years immigration of a curiously varied sort has continued steadily.[3] The immigrants in South Omaha have been somewhat longer in this country than those in Kansas City; only about 60 per cent have been less than ten years in the United States, as compared with 70 per cent in Kansas City, but the Croatians, Japanese, Lithuanians, Magyars, Poles, Russians, Servians, and Roumanians are very largely recent immigrants.[4] It is estimated that the native population of the community in 1909 was about 15,000, as compared with more than 20,000 in 1900, while the foreign-born population had increased from 5,600 in 1900 to 15,000 in 1909.[5]

[1] *Rept. Imm. Comm.*, p. 336.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 341.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 342–43.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

Wages and Incomes

1. *Daily wages.*—The prevailing day wage found among the employees in South Omaha was between $1.75 and $2.00; 94.6 per cent of all employees worked at $1.75 or over, while only 46 per cent made the $2.00 rate. This is a higher wage rate than that in Kansas City, where only about three-quarters worked at a rate as high as $1.75. The foreign born in far less proportion than the group as a whole worked at a rate of $2.00, though in the case of the Bohemians and Moravians (the race most largely represented) nearly 60 per cent worked at the $2.00 rate. Since many of the employees in South Omaha came from packing-houses in Kansas City and Chicago, there is not the striking increase in earning capacity with longer residence that appeared in Kansas City. None of the foreigners who had been in this country less than five years reached the $3.00-a-day rate, but 11 or 12 per cent of the Germans, Moravians, and Bohemians who had been here more than ten years were in the $3.00 group.[1]

2. *Annual earnings.*—Annual earnings as well as day rates show in general a more favorable situation in South Omaha than in Kansas City; there seems in general to have been steadier employment; nearly 60 per cent as compared with 45 per cent in Kansas City reported twelve months' employment during the year, whatever irregularity of employment there may have been within the month. The earnings of the heads of 310 households are presented: the average for the year was $588, as compared with $541 in Kansas City: 58 per cent, as compared with 68 per cent in Kansas City,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 354. A condensed table follows:

PERCENTAGE OF MALE EMPLOYEES EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EARNING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS PER DAY, BY GENERAL NATIVITY

Nativity	Number	Percentage Earning Each Specified Amount				
		$1.50 or Over	$1.75 or Over	$2.00 or Over	$2.50 or Over	$3.00 or Over
Native born of foreign father...	629	97.1	92.4	57.7	30.0	13.0
Total native born.....	1,346	97.8	94.2	58.4	31.7	13.7
Total foreign born.....	2,785	98.0	94.7	40.3	14.6	4.5
Total.....	4,131	98.0	94.6	46.2	20.2	7.5

earned less than $600. In the upper classes, however, Kansas City with its larger proportion of native and highly skilled Negro workers, stood somewhat higher; there 11 per cent of the heads of households earned $800 or more, whereas in Omaha only 8 per cent earned as much as $800. Here, as in Kansas City, the foreigners had smaller incomes than the native born; 60 per cent fell below the $600 mark, and nearly 94 per cent earned less than $800.[1] Data are presented also for the "approximate" earnings of males eighteen years of age and over in the families; these show lower wages than the heads of households, nearly two-thirds earning less than $600, and 50 per cent earning between $400 and $600.[2]

3. *Annual family incomes.*—The family incomes are much nearer those of Kansas City than are the earnings of heads of families. Not quite 60 per cent showed family incomes of less than $750; not quite 80 per cent incomes of less than $1,000; there was no great distinction between native and foreign families. Here, as in Kansas City, the wives contributed to the family income by keeping boarders and lodgers, not by working outside the home, but fewer than an eighth of the families had lodgers. The children contributed a far larger share to the family income than was the case in Kansas City, probably because of age differences in the family constitution.[3]

4. *Organized labor and labor disputes.*—Kansas City families showed that only 3 persons of the 424 for whom data on the question were secured belonged to trade unions; none of those of native birth belonged to any labor organization. In South Omaha, after the strike of 1904, there has been little interest in trade unionism; one employer said that there were no unions in the community, but the statement was not verified. Such organizations as do exist, however, are ineffective. Before the breaking-up of the unions in 1904, unionism had had a rather vivid history. The first great strike, in 1894, was an effort to secure an increase in hourly wage rates in some of the highly skilled occupations, and was lost by the strikers after a fight of a little more than a month. The second strike sought an increase in the wages of common laborers from 15 to 17.5 cents an hour, and the demands of the strikers

[1] *Rept. Imm. Comm.*, p. 358, table. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 359. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 360–61.

were granted after eight days. Wages were apparently later increased to 19 cents for ordinary laborers, but a reduction from this rate was attempted by the employers in 1904; as a protest against this reduction the great strike of 1904 was called. The strike resulted disastrously to the strikers and the union movement; about three hundred employees lost their places, and the wages of unskilled laborers were reduced from 19 to 17.5 cents an hour—the wage that had been secured by strike in 1898.[1]

II. WAGES IN MEN'S READY-MADE CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENTS IN CHICAGO

Men's ready-made clothing presents a situation somewhat different from that in slaughtering and meat-packing establishments in the character of the working force and in general organization. The tailoring trade is distinctly an immigrant trade and employs large numbers of persons at operations involving comparatively little training. Like slaughtering and meat-packing, in its present development it is a trade involving great subdivision of labor, and is characterized by sharp seasonal fluctuations, with great irregularity of employment during the slack seasons. But while many of the operations in garment-working require comparatively little experience, many others, even those which are pretty low paid, are very highly skilled. The piece-work system predominates, with the universal tendency of speeding up work to the highest possible point, but there is nowhere the bondage of the man to the speed of the machine that characterizes work in the slaughter-houses. In the larger establishments, at least, there is a stronger organization of the working force in the tailoring trade than in the packing-houses where every morning the extra numbers needed for the day are engaged at the gates; and as a result of the agreement made at the conclusion of the strike of 1910–11, one of the very large establishments does not lay off workers on account of slack work in the dull season.

The distinctive element in the ready-made clothing houses is the employment of large numbers of women for the less skilled operations and also in many of the very highly skilled processes;

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 369–70.

it is sometimes said, for instance, that the shop "finishers," who are always women, are the most skilled workers in the shop, though in general the wages of finishers are pretty low. Women are sometimes found in such operations as sleeve-sewing, one of the most difficult and highly paid of all the processes involved in making a coat. In many shops the predominance of women is becoming more marked; employers are seeking to employ skilled women in place of men in practically all processes except pressing and some of the highest grade machine operations. This importance of women in the industry is due not so much to the idea that the needle trades are a natural sphere for the work of women as to various obvious elements in the present industrial situation: the great subdivision of processes which makes feasible the employment of women and young girls who have no need of knowing anything about the making of a coat as a whole and to whom irregularity of employment is not necessarily a vital matter; the presence of a great supply of labor of this class—women living in the unsettled pioneer conditions that mark the life of newly arrived immigrants who find it necessary to supplement the wages of husbands or fathers; the eagerness of employers to make use of the deftness of women, of their manageability, of their willingness to work at lower wages than men doing like work would be willing to accept.

The industry is of special importance in such a report as this because, from the point of view of value of product, the manufacture of men's clothing is second in importance in Chicago, excelled only by slaughtering and meat-packing. In 1905, 18,924 persons were reported as engaged in the manufacture of men's clothing;[1] and the growth of the trade in the past seven years has been very rapid. There are now probably forty or fifty thousand garment-workers in Chicago. The wages and working conditions of so great a body of employees must give very fair illustration of some phases of "the present industrial situation." Chicago, it should be said, stands for higher wages and, in general, better working conditions than the other great clothing centers in this country; Chicago has to a far less extent than most other clothing cities permitted the growth of the great system of "home-finishing" and contracting, with all

[1] *Rept. on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners*, II, 19, Washington, 1911.

their unfortunate consequences. With the possible exception of Baltimore, Chicago has gone farthest in the development of the inside shop—the shop or group of shops operated by the clothing manufacturer himself, in contrast with the shops which take garments from the manufacturer to be made in small, normally unsanitary shops operated by a contractor.

The main source of information as to men's ready-made clothing establishments in Chicago is the recent report of the Bureau of Labor on the condition of woman and child wage-earners in the United States.[1] The data were collected in 1907 and 1908, a time of serious business disturbance. The tailoring trades were not disturbed by the panic to any great extent until the early part of 1908; 1907, the year represented by the data for Chicago, was a time of high activity in the trade. The data here given, the Bureau of Labor believed, do not reflect the bad year, since they were largely taken from the great establishments best fitted to maintain their shops and supply work.

The report deals with a large number of women employees, but with such male employees only as were engaged in operations competing with women. This means that the wages here given do not include the wages of men who are pressers, trimmers, high-grade machine-operators, and so on, but are based on the great groups of relatively unskilled, relatively low-paid operatives. Data collected for a single large shop in the current year will give some idea of the earnings of the higher-paid classes of operatives.

The Labor Force: Sex and Race Constitution

Of the 6,672 employees studied by the Bureau of Labor, a few more than 60 per cent were women; of those over sixteen, 57 per cent were women. This proportion is probably pretty near the proportion existing in the trade as a whole in Chicago; the census of manufactures in 1905 reported 10,483 women out of a total of 18,924 engaged in the ready-made clothing industry. The women shopworkers are young; 60 per cent of those included in the government report were under twenty-one and nearly a third were between

[1] *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners*, II. Washington, 1911.

eighteen and twenty. The men were older, of those over sixteen nearly half being between twenty-one and thirty.[1]

The employees in the garment trades were practically all foreigners and very largely foreign born; of the women, for all practical purposes 98 per cent were foreign by birth or parentage, and of these, 60 per cent were immigrants; of the men, only 0.5 per cent were native born of native stock. Chicago shows greater diversity of race among its garment-workers than any other of the great clothing centers, but the Bohemians and Poles show the highest percentages; more than a quarter of the employees included in the investigation were Bohemians, while 22.5 per cent were Poles; Italians, Hebrews, Scandinavians, and Germans followed in order of importance. The Bohemians and Poles do not so strikingly represent new immigration as do the other foreign races; very nearly half of these two races were native born.[2] Race is an important matter in the organization of the garment trades. In general the manufacture of clothing differs from an industry like boot- and shoemaking, or the manufacture of textiles, in the fact that there is no one great factory where the great bulk of the employees work; until very recently the organization has taken the form of relatively small shops scattered through the city wherever a good supply of labor offered. These shops are largely organized along race lines, and even in the present movement toward factory organization (the consolidation of a group of shops under one roof) race plays an important part. The shop is likely to be a little foreign-speaking unit, with a foreman of the same race as the operatives. There tends also to be specialization in the kind of garments made by the various races, as well as in particular operations; Bohemians are characteristically coat-makers; Poles make trousers; Italian women are "finishers"; Bohemians, Poles, and Jews, roughly speaking, are machine-operators rather than handworkers.[3]

These facts have had distinct significance socially. The racial character of the shop in its own foreign quarter has stood in the way of the americanization of employees, and, together with the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 43, table.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 48.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

fact that shops are rather widely scattered, has prevented concerted action and organization on the part of the workers.

Wages in the Tailor Shops

The government report brings out with a good deal of care weekly earnings for a representative week for various classes of workers, but it throws very little light on the question of annual earnings or of family income in general. For purposes of verification, there are given, in addition to the figures for the "representative week," earnings of employees whose names appeared on at least fifty weekly pay-rolls. Wage data were secured for not quite 4,500 of the 6,700 persons included in the entire investigation, and of the 4,500 only about 500 were male workers. It should be remembered that the wages of men cover only those operations where men are competing with women and do not include at all the distinctively male occupations; of the 2,495 men included in the entire investigation, apparently about 1,900 were engaged in such operations, and for them the federal report affords no data.

1. *Weekly earnings.*—A rough view is first taken of all operatives, without regard to age or occupation. Practically half of the male operatives were earning less than $9.00 in this representative week, while more than half of the females made less than $7.00. Just about a third of the males earned over $12.00; nine-tenths of the females earned less than that amount. All of the men who made as much as $10.00 were those who were fortunate enough to have practically full-time work—at least 50 hours a week; women could not make as much as $6.00 unless they had 50 hours or more of work. A table showing the details is presented.

These wage figures are slightly depressed by the low earnings of children under sixteen. The number of children is not great, however, for garment-working does not offer a broad field for child labor. The earnings of the great bulk of the garment-workers—those sixteen and over—showed somewhat more favorably; of the 507 males 49.5 per cent made less than $10.00, and half of the females still earned less than $7.00. Thirty-eight per cent of the men earned more than $12.00, and nearly a tenth of the women ran above that amount. This last fact gives Chicago a notable

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES EARNING CLASSIFIED AMOUNTS, AND AVERAGE HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT, DURING A REPRESENTATIVE WEEK, BY SEX (CHICAGO)[1]

Weekly Earnings	Males			Females		
	Number of Employees	Percentage	Average Hours	Number of Employees	Percentage	Average Hours
Under $2	18	3.5	23.8	106	3.2	22.9
$ 2–$ 2.99	12	2.3	40.3	170	5.2	37.4
3– 3.99	30	5.9	39.2	300	9.2	40.3
4– 4.99	41	8.0	42.2	439	13.4	44.5
5– 5.99	43	8.4	44.9	425	13.0	48.2
6– 6.99	42	8.2	44.3	371	11.3	49.4
7– 7.99	37	7.2	46.6	366	11.2	50.1
8– 8.99	32	6.3	47.8	312	9.6	52.4
9– 9.99	26	5.1	48.8	257	7.9	53.0
10– 10.99	25	4.9	50.5	175	5.3	53.4
11– 11.99	33	6.5	50.2	119	3.7	54.1
12– 12.99	32	6.3	52.4	94	2.9	52.9
13– 13.99	31	6.1	54.5	47	1.5	54.5
14– 14.99	22	4.3	54.4	29	0.9	53.6
15– 19.99	66	12.9	54.6	49	1.5	55.9
20– 24.99	18	3.5	57.8	4	0.1	60.3
25 and over	3	0.6	56.0	3	0.1	54.0
	511	100.00	47.8	3,266	100.00	47.6

distinction, for in tailoring establishments in most cities $10.00 marks the upper limit for women. The situation comes out clearly in the following condensed table:

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EARNING LESS THAN SPECIFIED AMOUNTS IN A REPRESENTATIVE WEEK, BY SEX (CHICAGO)

	Percentage of Employees Earning Under					
	$2.00	$4.00	$6.00	$8.00	$10.00	$12.00
Males	3.0	9.1	20.7	36.5	49.5	61.7
Females	2.8	13.4	37.5	61.2	80.2	90.6

The earnings of women were pretty closely grouped; the largest proportion of the women fell in the group earning $5.00 to $5.99, while 57 per cent were in the group earning between $4.00 and $9.00 in this representative week. The average earning for women over sixteen was $7.30; for men, $10.56.[2]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 136, 138, table.

When a second elimination of the younger and presumably less steady workers is made, the wages in the case of men show marked rise. In the group of workers twenty-one and over there were 361 men and 1,519 women; 27 per cent of the men were earning $15.00 or more, and nearly half earned more than $12.00. The years of maximum earning power for men appeared to be between thirty and thirty-four; beyond the age of forty-four a man's earning capacity appears to decline rapidly.[1] Women so rarely can or will avail themselves of opportunity to rise industrially that the more advanced age grouping shows no great advance over the younger groups in the matter of wages. To be sure, for women between thirty and forty-four there were found a few—13 women over thirty-five—who were earning between $15.00 and $25.00; but, generally speaking, as large a number of women were earning over $8.00 a week when they were twenty-four as at any later period. In the broad classification of all women regardless of age, something more than half were making less than $7.00 in the week studied; half of those sixteen and over were making less than $7.00; and eliminating the younger workers fails to bring half the women above the $8.00 mark, though in some of the age groups beyond twenty-one half had worked up to $8.00 and over.[2]

Tables showing average wages are worked out with some detail, and, so far as averages can be trustworthy, they show in concise and rather quotable form a general situation. For boys under sixteen, the average pay was $3.81; for girls, $3.55. Men over twenty-one average $11.71; women, $8.19. But the women between sixteen and twenty, who form the great bulk of the women workers, averaged only $6.43 a week.[3]

Classified earnings for a single shop during the busy season of the summer of 1911 have been tabulated; these earnings represent the work of all classes of operations in a representative coat shop in one of the large Chicago establishments, and give a view of a situation rather more favorable than that in an average shop. These figures show that for the fourteen weeks from June 1 to August 31, 1911, half of the employees, men, women, and a few boys and girls,

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43; Table VIII, pp. 553–59.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–43; Table VIII, pp. 553–59.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

made less than $11 a week, while for three weeks half did not reach $9.00. The lower-paid half of the shop represents largely the women employees and the relatively unskilled operators. When one considers the wages below which three-quarters of the employees fall, however, men and highly skilled operatives are included; in this shop, three-quarters of the employees earned less than $13 for six weeks of the busy season, less than $15 for six weeks, and less than $11 for two weeks—at the beginning of the season and in the week depressed by the Fourth of July. During the seven best weeks of the season, something like a fifth of the employees were earning $15 and over.

PERCENTAGES OF EMPLOYEES EARNING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS DURING THE SUMMER BUSY SEASON, IN A REPRESENTATIVE TAILOR SHOP (CHICAGO, 1911)

Week Ending	Percentage Work Full Time	Under $5.00	$5.00 to $8.99	$9.00 to $14.99	Over $15.00
June 1 247	....	25.9	41.3	27.5	5.3
June 8 264	48.9	11.7	37.4	40.0	10.9
June 15 280	36.4	19.3	34.3	33.5	12.9
June 22 293	58.7	15.0	34.7	35.6	14.7
June 29 294	67.0	15.5	30.6	39.3	14.6
July 6 303	*	25.4	40.2	29.4	5.0
July 13 333	66.6	15.6	30.3	34.8	19.2
July 20 31	71.2	17.1	25.2	38.7	19.0
July 27 340	76.5	8.9	35.0	37.6	18.5
Aug. 3 341	76.3	8.2	36.7	35.8	19.3
Aug. 10 348	75.0	11.5	33.3	33.9	21.3
Aug. 17 343	70.3	10.8	30.8	38.5	19.8
Aug. 24 338	72.5	4.7	37.9	39.4	18.0
Aug. 31 325	†	15.7	44.6	30.5	9.2

* Holiday completely disorganized work; 58.4 per cent worked at least 40 hours.
† Shop apparently closed August 31; 71.7 per cent worked as much as 40 hours.

If one considers the hand operators only—a group constituting usually about two-thirds of the working force in the shop—at least

half during the summer season were making less than $9.00 a week while the third quartile fell in the $9.00–$10.99 group, or, during the five best weeks, in the $11.00–$12.99 group.

The following condensed statement shows clearly the situation during the busy season. In the best week of the season—apparently the week of August 24—42 per cent of the employees earned less than $9.00 and throughout the season somewhere near half of the workers fell below $9.00 a week. This suggests that in a good tailor shop there is a scale of wages fairly comparable with that obtaining for all operatives in the stockyards during a busy week; the great group of hand operatives tends to fall below the level of earnings in the stockyards. But workers in the stockyards are predominantly men in the sturdiest years of life; workers in the hand operations in the tailor shops are largely women and young girls.

Week Ending	25 Per Cent Receiving Less Than	50 Per Cent Receiving Less Than	75 Per Cent Receiving Less Than	Per Cent Receiving $15 and Over	
June 1 247	$5	$ 9	$11	5.3	....
June 8 264	7	11	13	10.9	48.9
June 15 280	7	11	13	12.8	36.4
June 22 293	7	11	13	14.6	58.7
June 29 294	7	11	13	14.6	67.0
July 6 303	5	9	11	4.9	*
July 13 333	7	11	15	19.2	66.6
July 20 341	7	11	15	19.0	71.2
July 27 340	7	11	15	18.5	76.5
Aug. 3 341	9	11	13	19.3	76.3
Aug. 10 348	7	11	15	21.3	75.0
Aug. 17 343	7	11	15	19.8	70.3
Aug. 24 338	7	11	15	18.0	72.5
Aug. 31 325	7	9	13	9.2	†

* Holiday; 58.4 per cent worked at least 40 hours.
† Shop apparently closed for one day (August 31); 71.7 per cent worked as much as 40 hours.

It is quite unfair, however, to judge wages in the tailoring trade solely on the basis of the busy season. To be sure, there is irregularity of employment within the week even under normally busy conditions; in the representative week studied by the Bureau of Labor, the average number of hours worked by all employees was 48.4 on the basis of a full-time week of 54.4 hours. About 70 per cent of the employees worked practically full time, including some overtime.[1] In the representative coat shop studied during the busy season of last summer, somewhere near 70 per cent were employed full time during eight weeks, the percentage running up to 75 and 76 per cent during August. But twice during the year there come slack seasons which cut sharply into the working-time and income of employees. In the ready-made houses April, May, and June, September, October, and November tend to show slack work. Chicago shops show greater regularity of employment, on the whole, than shops in other cities, but at best the numbers employed in the shops decrease and earnings drop seriously. The special-order houses—a line of work concentrated in Chicago—are notably irregular, with overtime and large lay-offs. Fluctuations of 5 or 6 per cent from an average number of employees from month to month characterized a group of establishments studied by the Bureau of Labor, while weekly variations in two special-order houses ran as high as 50 per cent.[2] The effects of irregularity of work in the establishment of irregularity of habit and in preventing the acquisition of a sense of workmanship and of pride in one's job that make for ambition and initiative are too obvious for comment. The Bureau of Labor found only 14 per cent of the employees studied in Chicago employed in the same shop as many as 50 weeks in the year.

The extent to which a slack season may depress weekly earnings is illustrated by the following table of classified earnings in the same ready-made clothing shop that was just followed through the busy season. There can be no question that the autumn of 1911 was "bad," even for a slack season; but since a bad year almost normally occurs before each presidential election, its consequences

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 107, 110.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177, table.

can hardly be called abnormal. Such figures as these, however, must be taken with caution, even as mere illustrations of a situation. The figures show that at the beginning of the slack season in September in this shop about half of the 325 employees were working full time—54 hours. Half worked less than full time and earned less than $9.00. Three-quarters earned less than $13.00; one man, a tape-sewer, was making as much as $25.00. During the fourth week in September, half the force worked less than 25 hours and three-quarters less than 31 hours; during the next six weeks three-quarters worked less than 36 hours per week. In one week three-quarters of the shop were employed less than 19 hours. This cutting of hours meant that for seven weeks half the workers failed to make $5.00 a week; during one week, half earned less than $3.00, and during two weeks, less than $4.00. Three-quarters during these weeks could not make $8.00, part of the time failing to touch $4.00, $5.00, and $6.00. In the meantime, numbers employed in the shop were shrinking; the shop started in September with 325—and dropped as low as 281, a decrease of 14 per cent. Further, even among those still retained on the pay-rolls, as employees, from 4 per cent to 10 per cent during the weeks most seriously affected had no work and wages. The table follows:

Week Ending	No. without Employment	Percentage without Employment	50 Per Cent Work Less Than	50 Per Cent Receive Less Than	75 Per Cent Work Less Than	75 Per Cent Receive Less Than	Maximum		
			Hours		Hours		Hours	Wage	No.
Sept. 7	0	0	54	$9	*	$13	54	$25	1
Sept. 14	0	0	54	9	*	13	54	25	2
Sept. 21	4	1.2	46	7	52	12	54	24	1
Sept. 28	15	4.9	25	5	31	7	50	14	2
Oct. 5	16	4.4	14	3	19	4	40	13	1
Oct. 12	22	6.6	26	5	34	7	52	15	2
Oct. 19	32	10.3	23	4	30	6	46	14	1
Oct. 26	26	8.7	26	4	30	5	44	14	1
Nov. 2	27	9.2	27	5	35	7	54	15	1
Nov. 9	22	7.8	32	5	36	8	54	14	5
Nov. 16	15	4.9	48	8	50	11	54	24	1
Nov. 23	12	3.7	52	9	54	13	54	26	1
Nov. 30	8	2.4	50	9	50	11	50	23	1

* The third quartile falls within the 54-hour group.

PERCENTAGES OF EMPLOYEES EARNING SPECIFIED AMOUNTS DURING THE AUTUMN SLACK SEASON, 1911, IN A REPRESENTATIVE TAILOR SHOP IN CHICAGO

Week Ending	No Wage	Under $5.00	$5.00 to $8.99	$9.00 to $14.99	Over $15.00
Sept. 7 325	....	9.6	40.4	39.8	10.2
Sept. 14 314	....	15.0	40.8	28.2	16.0
Sept. 21 315	1.2	27.9	39.7	20.9	11.5
Sept. 28 304	4.9	62.2	28.6	9.2	....
Oct. 5 322	4.4	86.0	12.8	1.2	....
Oct. 12 322	6.6	57.4	31.9	9.9	.8
Oct. 19 311	10.3	66.9	25.1	8.0	....
Oct. 26 299	8.7	69.5	21.8	8.7	....
Nov. 2 294	9.2	57.2	28.2	14.3	.3
Nov. 9 281	7.8	....	....	....	....
Nov. 16 303	4.9	21.8	38.3	31.3	8.6
Nov. 23 323	3.7	13.6	33.8	37.1	11.5
Nov. 30 321	2.4	24.9	47.0	25.3	2.8

It is not to be supposed that when three-quarters of a shop are working only 30-odd hours a week there is no other employment; for the younger and less skilled workers slack season probably does in many cases mean cessation of income, but the highly skilled workers can often secure work in other shops, going from the ready-made to the special-order houses, where the busy season more or less overlaps the slack season at the ready-made establishments. Indeed, the problem of keeping a hand on his skilled workers may become a serious one for the employer.

2. *Annual earnings.*—The Bureau of Labor reports for the small number of persons whose names were found on fifty or more payrolls in the establishments studied the total yearly earnings in the shop; only 14 per cent of the number studied were found working as many as 50 weeks in one shop, and the number of men was so small as to be useless for any sort of generalization. Indeed, the figures must be used with extreme caution. The result in the

figures represents the earnings of the steadiest workers and stands for the maximum possible earnings rather than for normal earnings. These top limits show for women of all ages an annual wage of $419; women twenty-one and over averaged $450. Some influence apparently has tended to pull down the earnings of the steadiest workers—and, presumably, since there is a strong effort on the part of the manufacturers to keep their skilled employees, the better-paid workers—to a sum very little above that which would be earned by the average $8.00-a-week women if they had steady employment throughout the year. Only 22 men were followed through the year; these upper-limit men averaged $699. This, again, is not much more than the $624 that could be earned by the average $12-a-week men working all the time; but the numbers are altogether too small for any comparisons.[1]

Four hundred and thirty-nine families, with fathers at work, in which various members were employed in the tailoring trades were reported; for these families the average annual earnings of the husband were $461; earnings ran as high as $687 in the case of families where the head was native born of native parentage, as low as $345 in the 93 Italian families. Earnings like this for the father of the family were, roughly, 40 per cent or 50 per cent of the total family income. In the majority of cases the father in these families was not engaged in the tailoring trades; but yearly earnings of this sort give clear enough indication of the reasons why wives and daughters work in the shops at almost any wage that offers; such wages for the husband of the family would hardly increase the bargaining power of the wife and daughters.[2]

Other illustrations of annual earnings of various workers may be derived from the tables of family incomes shown in the Bureau of Labor report. In 161 families where the mother was at work, the family showed an average gross income of $685, not quite a third of which came from the mother's earnings. These annual earnings of the mother in the household averaged $214.

For males sixteen and over, average annual earnings of $400 were reported; this is based on earnings of 328 men; 601 women sixteen and over showed average annual earnings of $307.[3]

[1] *Rept. on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners*, II, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 638. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 638.

Taken for what they may be worth, such averages show a tendency that certainly belies any theory of a living wage, on any reputable standard of living; and yet one must realize that on such wages as these people do live and in some mysterious way save money. To be sure, these wages put together in a family fund make up totals, in families where the fathers are at work, or where there are sons and daughters over sixteen at work, of $1,000 or more; but the earnings of no one of the workers would be sufficient adequately to support that worker alone, to say nothing of that worker with any dependents.[1]

III. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

The main sources of information as to the wage-situation in the iron and steel industry are two reports of the Bureau of Labor and the eighth and ninth volumes of the forthcoming report of the Immigration Commission. The report of the Commissioner of Labor to the Senate Committee at the time of the Bethlehem strike in 1910 was based on a study of the pay-rolls of the company for the two months, December, 1909, and January, 1910, for specified departments.[2] This report has been the subject of much criticism on the part of the steel manufacturers, who charge that it is a "fabric of pure misrepresentation." Mr. Schwab, in testifying before the Underwood tariff committee in the early spring of the current year, said that the report was based on a study of only 9,000 employees out of between 13,000 and 15,000 employed in the plant, that it took no account of the large number of apprentices whose pay would tend to reduce averages, and that, as for

[1] Very rough guesses based on the figures for a representative coat shop heretofore presented would suggest classified earnings for workers in a good shop somewhat higher than these perhaps equally rough averages. Following half the workers through the six months for which classified weekly earnings are given, one finds that the earnings from work in this shop were less than $230 for half the employees, and less than $297 for three-quarters of the workers. If work were similarly distributed through the year, this would suggest annual earnings of $460 and $594. But to assume like distribution of work for the six months for which data are not given is injudicious; and at best the earnings in this shop are supplemented by earnings in other occupations during slack weeks.

[2] *Senate Doc. 521*, 61st Cong., 2d Sess.

hours of labor, the men unanimously resisted a reduction of the 72- and 84-hour weeks.[1]

The forthcoming report of the Commissioner of Labor on the iron and steel industry of the country as a whole is based on a study of pay-rolls in 1910. The main steel regions of the country are studied separately and brought together for comparison; the data given here refer to the Great Lakes and middle western district chiefly. The very inclusive study and the great numbers of employees ought to make the first point in Mr. Schwab's criticism of the Bethlehem report unjust. The brief digest of the report which appeared in the *Iron Age* contains no comment upon the character and quality of the report.[2]

The report of the Immigration Commission is not yet available, but the recent book of Professor Jenks and Professor Lauck, based on the investigations of the commission, affords some material.[3]

The Labor Force: Racial Constitution

Employees in the iron and steel industry are characteristically recent immigrants and show a very large proportion of unskilled workmen. Nearly half of the employees studied by the Bureau of Labor belonged to the unskilled class, while in the blast furnaces more than two-thirds belonged to this class; there is, furthermore, a constant tendency to reduce the numbers of skilled laborers and to establish the general wage on the basis of common or unskilled labor. Sixty per cent of the workers were foreign born, and of these, two-thirds were of Slavic races; and here, too, the tendency is constantly toward greater numbers of the recent immigration replacing the races formerly dominant.[4]

Wages and Hours of Labor

1. *Hourly wage rates.*—The report of the Commissioner of Labor on the situation at Bethlehem, Pa., showed that large numbers of men were working for 12½ cents per hour, 12 hours a day and seven

[1] *Iron Age*, February 15, 1912, p. 419.

[2] *Ibid.*, November 23, 1911, p. 1138.

[3] Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem.* New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1912.

[4] *Condition of Labor in Iron and Steel Industry*, Summary, p. 10.

days a week. It may be in such a statement as this that Mr. Schwab's criticism as to inclusion of apprentices would obtain. At any rate, 28.7 per cent of the individuals whose names were on the pay-rolls worked for 12 but less than 14 cents an hour, and 16.6 per cent for 14 but less than 16 cents an hour. Nearly half—48.5 per cent—were working at less than 16 cents an hour, and nearly a third—31.9 per cent—at less than 14 cents an hour.[1] On April 1, 1910—after the presentation of the report to the Senate—the wages of unskilled laborers in the Bethlehem steel works were raised 1 cent per hour, and in a number of departments skilled labor received a 10 per cent increase.[2]

The summary of the wages and hours of labor in the iron and steel industry, based on the report on the industry over the country as a whole, shows in great detail, by operations and departments, the wages per hour paid in various districts. Since this present report is mainly interested in the wages of unskilled labor, chief attention will be given to that class of employees. The variations in average hourly wages from one department to another are not very great; the blast furnaces, where two-thirds of the employees are of the unskilled class, have the lowest average hourly earnings—$0.183, the puddling mills the highest—$0.322. Other departments tend to pay in the neighborhood of $0.22 and $0.24 an hour.[3]

Some idea of the relation between skilled and unskilled workers in the various departments and classes of occupations within the departments may be derived from the following tables. The first shows the percentages of employees, in productive and general

[1] *Senate Doc. 321*, 61st Cong., 2d sess., p. 18.

[2] *Rept. on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works*, p. 57.

[3] The table is as follows (*Condition of Labor in Iron and Steel Industry*, Summary, p. 28):

AVERAGE EARNINGS PER HOUR OF EMPLOYEES IN PRODUCTIVE OPERATIONS IN EACH DEPARTMENT (GREAT LAKES AND MIDDLE WESTERN DISTRICT)

Department	Average Hourly Earnings	Department	Average Hourly Earnings
Blast furnace	$0.183	Standard rail mills	$0.235
Bessemer converter	.226	Structural, light rail, etc	.192
Open hearth furnace	.220	Miscellaneous mechanical mills	.235
Puddling mills	.322	Bar mills	.280
Crucible furnace	.....	Garret rod mills	.300
Blooming mills	.235	Miscellaneous rod mills	.267
Plate mills	.243	Tube mills	.....

occupations, earning less than 18 cents per hour—the characteristic pay of the unskilled.

Department	Productive Occupation		General Occupations	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Blast furnace	63.8		31.29	
Bessemer converter	51.97		35.71	
Open hearth furnace	52.39		37.76	
Puddling mills	14.95		54.17	
Crucible furnaces	.....		28.57	
Blooming mills	49.85		48.13	
Plate mills	38.46		43.21	
Standard rail mills	45.63		40.34	
Structural, light rail	63.63		73.97	
Miscellaneous mechanical mills	43.37		35.23	
Bar mills	32.98		31.75	
Garret rod mills	35.85		48.92	
Miscellaneous rod mills	37.37		.....	
Tube mills	.....		.....	
Total	49.57		38.15	

This table indicates that practically half of the employees working at productive labor in all departments in the iron and steel works in our part of the country earned less than 18 cents an hour. In two departments, nearly two-thirds worked at less than 18 cents an hour, and with one exception—the puddling mills—no department showed much less than a third of its employees working at the rate of pay of the unskilled. Employees in general occupations apparently work at higher rates; only 38 per cent fall below 18 cents an hour.[1]

A corresponding table (p. 52) is presented for the sake of comparison, showing percentages earning more than 25 cents an hour, in productive and general occupations.

From this table it appears that about a quarter of the employees in productive operations make over 25 cents per hour, while a fifth of those in general occupations belong in this class. In the puddling mills, 60 per cent of the productive workers are of this relatively highly paid group, while in three departments more than

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

40 per cent of the productive workers work at a rate of over 25 cents per hour.[1]

Department	Productive Occupations		General Occupations	
	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number
Blast furnace	6.12		25.16	
Bessemer converter	19.57		13.03	
Open hearth	24.44		19.03	
Puddling mills	60.56		8.33	
Crucible furnace	.....		71.43	
Blooming mills	26.94		14.37	
Plate mills	32.37		20.37	
Standard rail	24.81		11.17	
Structural, light rail, etc.	11.72		10.96	
Miscellaneous mechanical	25.25		15.53	
Bar mills	40.46		33.53	
Garret rod mills	43.04		13.67	
Miscellaneous rod mills	40.21		.....	
Tube mills	.....		.....	
Total	25.05		20.12	

The common laborers—practically all recent immigrants—in general earn between 16 and 18 cents per hour. In the producing departments, 71.01 per cent of the 5,401 common laborers were in this class, while of the 11,067 employees in all departments over three-quarters earned between 16 and 18 cents per hour.[2] More than a quarter of those in the producing departments earned 14

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 30. In the power, mechanical, and yard force, for which figures are not given here, 47.48 per cent earn less than 18 cents per hour, and 24.96 per cent more than 25 cents per hour.

[2] *Op. cit.* The table is as follows:

PERCENTAGES OF COMMON LABORERS EARNING EACH CLASSIFIED AMOUNT PER HOUR IN THE PRODUCING DEPARTMENT AND IN ALL DEPARTMENTS (GREAT LAKES AND MIDDLE WESTERN DISTRICT)

No. of Employees	Producing Departments						
	Under 10 Cents	10–12 Cents	12–14 Cents	14–16 Cents	16–18 Cents	18–20 Cents	20–25 Cents
5,401	....	....	0.09	27.22	71.01	1.61	0.07
	All Departments						
11,067	....	0.01	0.20	21.53	76.46	1.53	0.27

but less than 16 cents per hour—that is to say, 98 per cent earned between 14 and 18 cents. When all departments together are considered, practically the same wages are found; 21.5 per cent earning between 14 and 16 cents.[1]

While these common laborers show a lower wage scale than the male workers for whom data are given in the report on wages in the Chicago stockyards, the workers as a whole in the iron and steel industry are of a somewhat higher-paid class than are those in the Chicago packing-houses. The classified wage scale presented in this report shows that 61.9 per cent of the 6,498 male workers on the pay-rolls in October, 1910, were working at a rate of less than 18 cents an hour; in all departments of the iron and steel industry in this general locality not quite half worked at a rate of less than 18 cents. The packing-houses correspond more nearly to the blast furnaces in the steel mills, where 63 per cent of the men directly engaged in the making of steel are of the unskilled class.

2. *Weekly earnings.*—Any consideration of the weekly earnings of employees in the iron and steel industry must take into account the weekly hours of work upon which earnings are based. Discussion of hours of labor forms a large part of the government report upon the industry, and the question of the long day and the long week is one of extreme importance in the steel business. In some departments it is necessary that work be continuous; in the blast furnaces, for instance, operations are halted for only fifteen or twenty days during the year for cleaning and repairs; in other departments Sunday work is necessary for cleaning and repairing; in other departments Sunday work exists without particular necessity. Whatever the reason, the Bureau of Labor report on the Bethlehem steel works shows that of the 9,184 employees studied, 2,322 worked in occupations *regularly* requiring 12 hours of work a day, seven days in the week, while 2,233 more worked 12 hours a day, six days a week; that is, 51 per cent of the employees worked 12 or more hours a day, and 29 per cent worked regularly seven days a week; Sunday work was the rule, not "overtime."[1]

[1] *Rept. on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works*, pp. 10–11. Small groups were working more than a 12-hour day; 79 of the men, for instance, worked in occupations regularly requiring 13½ hours a day, seven days in the week.

The summary of hours and wages in the steel industry as a whole shows that this situation is a general one. Of the 173,000 men whose wages and hours were studied, only 14 per cent worked less than 60 hours a week; 43 per cent worked 12 hours a day for six days in the week—72 hours; and a fifth of the whole number worked regularly 84 hours a week.[1] The situation becomes more serious in view of the system known as the long shift, whereby every other Sunday men work the 24 hours around, making every other week 108 hours on duty. The following table shows for the Great Lakes district the percentages of employees customarily working 12 hours or more a day, six or seven days a week in the various departments.[2]

PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYEES IN EACH DEPARTMENT CUSTOMARILY WORKING 72 HOURS OR OVER PER WEEK (GREAT LAKES AND MIDDLE WEST)

Department	Productive Occupations		General Occupations	
	72 Hours and Over	84 Hours and Over	72 Hours and Over	84 Hours and Over
Blast furnaces	74.32	71.21	54.95	49.62
Bessemer converter	90.11	25.73	87.82	25.63
Open hearth	85.19	31.03	85.55	53.83
Puddling mills	1.50	.37	16.67	16.67
Crucible furnace	.....	7.69	57.14	28.57
Blooming mills	86.07	20.70	94.59	40.30
Plate mills	81.73	3.21	73.46	22.84
Standard rail	82.95	27.05	92.23	32.01
Structural, light, etc.	77.56	31.46	68.95	43.84
Miscellaneous mechanical	64.18	11.58	71.21	28.03
Bar mills	16.57	1.11	39.76	11.28
Garret rod mills	37.35	4.29	53.96	7.91
Miscellaneous rod mills	12.88	1.80	.....	.....
Tube mills	.....	1.01	.....	.....
Total	64.04	32.24	68.54	39.60

This table does not include the yard force and workers in the power and mechanical departments; when these are taken into account, 48.6 per cent of the entire force are working 72 hours and over per week; and 24.5 per cent 84 hours and over per week. The

[1] *Rept. on Conditions of Employment in the Iron and Steel Industry*, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*

productive and general occupations, however, show very much higher percentages working the long week. About a third of all the men in these occupations work 84 hours or more regularly each week, while in such a department as the blast furnace more than 70 per cent are on duty 84 hours or over.

In his report on the strike at Bethlehem, the Commissioner of Labor pointed out that continuous operation in a department like the blast furnaces is necessary; but that the only way to handle such a situation is to have three shifts of men instead of two.[1] During the investigation at Bethlehem, the steel corporation reissued orders sent out originally in 1907 concerning Sunday work; these orders had largely prohibited seven-day work outside of the blast furnaces and necessary repair work, but apparently had not been very ardently obeyed, for in 1910 a telegram was sent to the presidents of all the subsidiary companies to say "that all of us expect and insist that hereafter the spirit of the resolution will be observed and carried into effect. I emphasize the fact that there should be at least 24 continuous hours' interval during each week in the production of ingots" (signed by E. H. Gary).[2] The failure to carry out the orders of 1907 had been due to an overwhelming pressure of business during that year; and after the pressure was removed, the established Sunday schedules were continued. In December, 1909, and January, 1910, when the Bureau of Labor investigation took up the question, in shops where regular Sunday work did not obtain, 44 per cent of the employees were doing overtime Sunday work.[3]

The question of seven-day work is being studied by the American Iron and Steel Institute, and a plan formulated by that association is being tested in a few plants.[4] The 12-hour day seems to be regarded with more complacency by steel manufacturers. Mr. Schwab, testifying before the Underwood tariff committee, said: "We have tried to change our system of employment, but at my plant men voted unanimously for the long day."[5] A study was

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 128. Quotation from the *Iron Age*.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

[4] *Iron Age*, November 23, 1911, p. 1138.

[5] *Ibid.*, February 15, 1912, p. 419.

made in certain plants by an expert employed by one of the companies, which showed that while the hours on duty might be long, the hours of hard work were fewer than had been represented. It was shown in seven operations in the blast furnaces, during an observation covering 48 consecutive hours, the men were idle 27.2 per cent of the time, while of the working time, 46 per cent were at hard work, 10.1 per cent at medium work, and 42 per cent at light work. Similar conditions were shown for workers in the open-hearth furnaces and in the blooming mills. The report concedes, however, that the extreme heat is bad; and that 12 hours is a long day on duty, especially considering the fact that Sundays and holidays are included in the working week.[1] It adds that every three or four months there are general repairs which cause a four or five days' lay-off without pay; and that "this causes no grumbling on the part of the men." Much is made of the point that the men are willing to work the 12-hour day. Mr. Percival Roberts, a director of the steel corporation, testified before the Stanley Committee: "It is easy to induce men to take 12-hour jobs, and hard to get 12-hour men to go back to 10-hour jobs. I have seen blast furnace men who would rather be laid off than return to the 10-hour work day." To the inquiry whether he had ever considered the relation of the man working 12 hours a day to his family and to society, Mr. Roberts replied that that was a purely academic question.[2]

That a Slavic peasant would rather work 12 hours than 10 if he makes more money, and would object to being put on a 10-hour job when it meant a cut in his earnings, seems a fairly normal situation. The desirability, from the point of view of society, of permitting him to work the long day and the long week, is a larger and more significant question.

We may come now to the question of the weekly earnings of employees resulting from these 60-, 72-, and 84-hour weeks. The only material at present available touching the situation in recent years is to be found in the book by Professor Jenks and Professor Lauck based on the investigations of the Immigration Commission.

[1] *Iron Age*, February 1, 1912, p. 312.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1912, p. 482.

This material is presented only in the unsatisfactory form of averages, which must always be regarded with caution. These averages show for the total number of employees eighteen years of age and over a weekly wage of $14.35 in the iron and steel industry. The native born of native parentage had an average weekly wage of $16.54; the whole group of foreign born a weekly wage of $13.29. Since the Slavic races and south-European races generally, largely engaged in unskilled labor, are those in which this report has chief interest, the main races, with their average weekly earnings, may be briefly presented.[1]

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MALE EMPLOYEES EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER OF CERTAIN SLAVIC AND SOUTH-EUROPEAN RACES IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY (FOREIGN BORN)

Race	Average Weekly Earnings	Race	Average Weekly Earnings
Croatian	$11.02	Servian	$10.75
Dalmatian	11.44	Slovak	12.27
Lithuanian	12.89	Slovenian	11.85
Roumanian	11.06	Polish	12.69
Russian	12.05		

This condensed table suggests that the average weekly wages of the unskilled workers in iron and steel are in the neighborhood of $12—a higher average certainly than corresponding employees in the Chicago packing-houses would show. But employees in the Chicago packing-houses do not regularly work 72 or 84 hours a week, nor is there any such steadiness of employment in the packing-houses as is the case in the steel mills.

3. *Annual earnings.*—There is so little data on yearly earnings of workers in the steel mills that no significant statement can be made. Industrial statistics of the state of Pennsylvania give the following figures:[1]

Industry	Adult Males Employed	Average Yearly Earnings	Average Daily Earnings
Iron and steel rolling	114,803	$646.98	$2.22
Pig iron	14,904	587.65	1.96
Iron and steel ingots and castings	9,074	623.73	2.15

[1] *The Immigration Problem*, Appendix, Table K, pp. 440 ff.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY BUDGETS, APRIL 1, 1909—APRIL 1, 1910

First in importance for a knowledge of working and living conditions in the stockyards district is an investigation of actual standards of living. The true significance of the prevailing rates of wages, for example, becomes apparent only when we know how these wages are spent and what they will buy. Previous to a discussion of wages and working conditions we must consider the cost of living. We must answer, if possible, the question: What is the least wage that will support a family of five, six, seven, or eight people decently in the stockyards district?

In order to answer the above and other questions, we have gathered family budgets from 184 typical stockyards families. This number would be insufficient to furnish the basis for conclusions regarding the standards of living in Chicago or in any other large city. We believe, however, that the number is adequate to represent conditions in the particular district with which we are concerned in this study. The statistics based upon 184 budgets of stockyards families will register more accurately the conditions in this single district than would statistics from two thousand families for the whole city of Chicago.

As was pointed out in the first chapters of this study, nine-tenths of the people living in this district are of foreign birth or parentage, the Polish and Lithuanian colonies being especially large. In gathering our budgets we have taken this fact into consideration and have chosen our families in about the same relative proportions as the prevailing nationalities. We also endeavored to collect budgets which would be representative of various groups of workers according to their incomes. This was found to be almost impossible since the majority of the lowest-paid workers are single men and women, and are as a rule so ignorant that they cannot keep accurate budgets; in many cases they can neither read nor write. Our Polish families in particular are representative of the most successful Poles in the district rather than the average—as is shown by the

fact that one-third of them own their homes (generally subject to heavy mortgages, to be sure). It must be recognized at the outset, therefore, that while the families chosen are genuine working-class families, yet they are a selected group, with a standard of living somewhat above the average in the stockyards district.

The following system was used in gathering our information: First, a schedule was prepared covering all the points concerning which information was desired.[1] Next we endeavored to persuade a large number of families that it was worth their while to keep systematic accounts of their incomes and expenditures. We succeeded in doing this only by employing paid investigators who were well acquainted in the district and who already had the confidence of the people. The Polish budgets, for example, were gathered by a Polish woman who had lived in the district several years and who was secretary of two local Polish societies. The Lithuanian budgets were gathered by a Lithuanian who had many friends working in the stockyards. Other budgets were gathered from families which were friendly to the Settlement and were willing to assist in gathering information. In very few cases were families approached who were total strangers to the investigators, and it may be stated here that in nearly every such case we failed to get satisfactory results. Altogether over 600 families were visited and requested to co-operate with us in the keeping of budgets. About 400 of them agreed to do so and actually began the keeping of accounts. Of these 400, 272 kept their accounts long enough so that our investigators wrote them into schedules. These schedules were carefully examined both as to completeness and accuracy, and 88 of them were finally rejected as unsatisfactory, leaving 184 from which our statistics have been tabulated.

It should be noted that the schedules themselves were never placed in the hands of the families visited. Their complexities would have been confusing. Each family which agreed to keep an account was furnished with a substantial notebook about four by seven inches in size to which was tied a lead pencil. There were

[1] Mr. John Koren of the U.S. Bureau of Commerce and Labor made several valuable suggestions which were utilized in the preparation of this schedule.

no special rulings in these notebooks, and the family was requested to write down each day every purchase and item of expenditure. Thus the account would read

MONDAY, AUGUST 17

1 qt. milk	$0.08
4 lbs. sugar	.24
1 lb. sausage	.12
1 qt. beer	.10
2 loaves bread	.10
1 doz. rolls	.10
1 peck potatoes	.18
½ doz. bananas	.09
Insurance, children	.15
Instalment, sewing machine	2.00
1 pr. stockings for boy	.15

Day by day the items were written down by the housewife or some other member of the family, and on a specific day each week our investigator would call and look over the accounts, inquire about apparent omissions or mistakes, and then sum up the total expenditures for each class of goods during the week and enter the items in the schedule for that family.

This method of gathering family budgets involved considerable labor and expense, but some such system was necessary to secure anything like accurate results. After we had explained that the object of our study was to gather information which might be used in various ways for the improvement of living conditions among workingmen's families, and after we had explained that the whole purpose of the study would be defeated if the accounts were not accurately kept, we found that most of the families made an earnest effort to jot down all their expenditures. Nevertheless, items were frequently forgotten, and it was only by closely supervising the keeping of accounts that we were able to insure their accuracy. In many cases the housewives themselves were surprised at the amounts they were spending for some articles which they hardly realized were important items in their household expenses. It is certain that if we had merely called upon these families and asked them to tell us what they spent per week or per year for each article

on our list, they would have greatly overestimated some and underestimated others, while some articles would have been overlooked entirely. Moreover, our investigators were able to become intimately acquainted with many of the families by weekly visits and thus gained information which could not possibly be secured in one or two visits. For these reasons we believe that, despite the great amount of labor involved, the method employed in this study was justified by the results which were obtained.

We desired to secure accounts for one year from at least 250 families. We found that it was much easier to induce families to begin accounts than to persuade them to continue keeping them week after week. Considering the fact that none of the housewives had any experience in bookkeeping, that most of them were tired and overworked, and that the object of the study must have seemed to them rather vague and indefinite, we wonder that any of them were persistent enough to write down their expenditures day after day for an entire year. Yet over 30 families kept their accounts for the entire year and the rest of the 184 did so for periods ranging from nine weeks to twelve months. With one or two exceptions, all schedules for less than nine weeks were rejected on the ground that they did not cover a long enough period to warrant inclusion with the others. Over 75 per cent of all the accounts were kept for periods of six months or more.

In order to tabulate our statistics it was found necessary to reduce all schedules to a unit basis. This was done in those cases where the schedule fell short of the entire year by finding the average expenditure per item per month and multiplying this by twelve. In cases where this method seemed likely to cause inaccuracies, corrections were made. For example, if an account were begun on the first of April and continued to the first of October, the annual expenditure for coal would not be represented by 12 times the expenditure per month for this period. Correction in a case of this sort was made by taking the actual expenditures for coal made by a family of a similar type living in a similar apartment and inserting them in this budget. In other cases the family was revisited and special inquiries made regarding doubtful points. Obviously such corrections leave room for a slight margin of error,

but it is probable that the errors in one case just about offset those in another.

It is not contended that these budgets are absolutely accurate in every respect, but it is certain that for all practical purposes they represent the actual conditions prevailing in the stockyards district. If we had had the time and resources we should have made our study more intensive along certain lines, especially in regard to ascertaining the quality of the commodities purchased. Such information would have been very valuable but it would have required almost daily examination of all commodities such as meats, vegetables, fruits, clothing, and furniture.

The data found in our 184 budgets have been classified and tabulated, and the results are being put into tables which will be later accessible to those who wish more detailed information regarding particular phases of the study. The main facts brought out by our study may be summarized as follows:

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES

Of the 184 families, 88 were Polish, 68 Lithuanian, and 28 miscellaneous—five of the latter being native-born American families. The size of these families is shown by the following table:

	Families of												
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total
Polish	9	12	12	12	13	8	7	7	3	1	3	1	88
Lithuanian	..	11	19	18	13	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	68
Miscellaneous	1	7	6	6	1	5	1	1	..	..	2	..	28
Totals	10	30	37	34	27	18	10	8	3	1	5	1	184

There is an impression widely prevalent that practically all families in such districts as the one we are considering are large. While doubtless there is some basis for this impression, yet, as the above table shows, it is a great mistake to think that there are not many families of three, four, and five members. Altogether there were 982 individuals in the 184 families, 500 under sixteen years of age, and 482 over sixteen, making an average of 5.33 per family. In addition the 88 Polish families kept 59 lodgers and boarders, the 68 Lithuanian families kept 280 lodgers and boarders, and the 28

miscellaneous families, 12 lodgers and boarders, making a total of 351 lodgers and boarders in all, or an average of 1.9 boarders or lodgers per family. In the 184 families, 176 husbands were living. Of these, 83 were naturalized, while 96 had not yet obtained their citizenship papers. All of the families except 17 were of the Roman Catholic faith.

OCCUPATIONS AND SOURCES OF INCOME

Of the 176 husbands, 170 were usually at work, the remaining 6 being idle because of sickness, old age, etc. There were 148 employed in the stockyards, chiefly at unskilled labor, while 22 worked outside of the yards. Of those working outside of the yards, 12 were laborers, 4 foundry employees, 3 carpenters, 2 teamsters, and 1 tailor. In 94 of the 184 families, the father was the only wage-earner; in 52 families, children of fourteen or fifteen years of age were at work; in 21 cases, the wife worked all or part of the time for wages. Ninety-two families derived a part of their income from boarders or lodgers. Forty-two families had other sources of income, such as rents. The following table shows by nationality and amounts the annual incomes obtained by the 184 families included in our study:

CLASSIFICATION OF INCOMES

Amount of Income	Polish	Lithuanian	Miscellaneous	Total
$ 236 to $ 500	14	..	..	14
501 to 600	15	6	3	24
601 to 700	13	17	2	32
701 to 800	10	22	10	42
801 to 900	5	8	3	16
901 to 1,000	9	8	1	18
1,001 to 1,100	..	2	..	2
1,101 to 1,200	3	2	3	8
1,201 to 1,300	2	..	2	4
1,301 to 1,400	6	..	1	7
1,401 to 1,500	3	1	..	4
1,501 to 2,261	8	2	3	13
Totals	88	68	28	184

The income of nearly all of these families varied considerably from week to week because of the irregularity of employment. Leaving out of consideration the hours lost from day to day, 36

of the Polish husbands lost one solid week or more during the year because of lack of employment. The average time lost by these 36 husbands was 12.7 weeks. Sixteen Lithuanian husbands lost a total of 105 weeks, or an average of 6.6 weeks each. One in the miscellaneous group lost 18 weeks. Thus 53 of the 170 husbands who were at work lost, in solid weeks, 580 weeks' time, or an average of 10.9 weeks of work per year.

It should be remembered that the incomes classified above are the *total family incomes*, not the incomes of the heads of the families alone. Errors sometimes arise in the discussion of rates of wages and standards of living from the confusion of incomes earned by the heads of the families with the incomes derived by the families from *all* sources. The following table of incomes according to sources will make this point clear. Under the heading "Husband" are given the average incomes derived per family from the husbands. In this table all families are included, even those in which no husband was at work. (A second table will be submitted later showing the average income derived from husbands by those families where the husbands actually worked.) Under the heading "Children 14–15" is given the average income per family derived from children under sixteen, including those families where no children were at work. The averages given under "Other Members of Family" show the average amounts derived from other adult members of the family, including all families, regardless of whether an income was derived from that source or not. The same principle was followed in finding the average income from "Lodgers," "Other Sources," and the "Totals." The total income derived from any source was divided by the total number of families—184.

The following table shows clearly the average income per

SOURCES OF INCOME. I

	Husband	Children 14–15	Other Members of Family	Lodgers	Other Sources	Totals
Polish.....	$447.46	$67.48	$279.50	$ 41.56	$33.39	$869.39
Lithuanian...	503.55	35.38	48.91	180.46	36.30	804.60
Miscellaneous	425.63	59.38	382.84	33.84	24.77	926.46
All families...	464.87	54.38	210.01	91.72	33.15	854.13

family derived from various sources. It shows, for example, that if we include all the 184 families, only $54.38, or 6.3 per cent of the average family income, was derived from children of the ages of fourteen and fifteen. This table, however, should be supplemented by another which will show the average income derived from each source by the families which were securing an income from that source. The average income derived by these families from their children, for example, will be found by dividing the total income derived from children of fourteen and fifteen, by the number of families where children worked (which was only 50 out of the 184). In the following table under the heading "Husband" are given the average incomes of the husbands who actually worked; under the heading "Children 14–15" is given the average income per family derived from children under sixteen *in those families where children worked.* The average is not the average per child but the average per family where one or more children were working. The averages given under "Other Members of Family" also refer to the average income derived from this source per family, not the average per individual working. The figures given for "Lodgers" represent the average income per family from this source where lodgers and boarders were kept. Under "Other Sources" is given the average derived by the families which had incomes from rents, etc.

SOURCES OF INCOME. II

	Husband	Children 14–15	Other Members of Family	Lodgers	Other Sources	Totals
Polish.....	$486.14	$185.57	$559.00	$159.01	$174.88	$869.39
Lithuanian...	511.06	240.60	475.08	191.43	205.69	804.60
Miscellaneous	541.71	207.83	564.19	189.53	138.69	926.46
All families...	503.15	200.14	552.02	183.44	145.23	854.13

At first glance it might seem that a mistake has been made in the totals of the above table. It appears, for example, that the average income of the Polish husbands was $486.14, and the average income in the Polish families derived from other members of the family was $559, and that these two items alone more than equal the total average income of each Polish family. It must be

remembered, however, that the average given in each column is based not upon the total number of families but upon the number of families which actually derive an income from this particular source. Among the Polish families, for example, only 32 derived an income from children fourteen to fifteen years of age. Therefore the total amount was divided by 32, instead of 88, in order to find the average income derived from the children *in the families where the children worked.* The total average income, on the other hand, was ascertained in every case by dividing the total income of all families by the total number of families.

It is a significant fact that, considering all the families together, the husbands contributed on the average only $464.87, or 54.4 per cent of the average family income. Here we have the chief explanation of the fact that in order to make ends meet it was necessary in most cases for the children or the mother to go to work or for the family to supplement its income by taking in lodgers or in some other way. In another part of this chapter we will show that it was very difficult for most of our families to live upon the income which they derived from all sources. It would have been almost impossible for them to live upon the income from the husband alone.

In 50 of the 184 families 52 children under sixteen contributed to the family income. As the table shows, the average contribution per family was $200.14. It must not be forgotten, however, that this income was not entirely a net gain for the family, a considerable portion in many cases being spent for carfare, lunches, etc. Yet, even a few dollars look large to families struggling with poverty, and it is not surprising that children are sent to work, even when their income averages less than $4.00 per week. In only 10 of the 68 Lithuanian families were children at work. The chief reason for this comparatively low number of child workers among the Lithuanians is that the workers of this nationality are among the more recent immigrants, that generally they married after they came to America, and that therefore most of their children are under fourteen years of age. The Lithuanians supplement their income chiefly by taking in lodgers. While 23 Polish families out of 88 took in lodgers, 64 Lithuanian families out of 68 used this

method to increase their incomes. The Polish and miscellaneous families derived a larger income from *other members of the family* than did the Lithuanians, because, as we stated before, the children of the Lithuanian families were not grown up in as many cases as in the families of other nationalities. Forty-two of all the families derived incomes from "other sources," principally from rent, but these incomes were often eaten up by the payments of taxes and interest on mortgages.

The following table shows the average family income according to the size of the family:

Size of family	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Average Income	$518.54	$668.89	$771.96	$801.49	$805.51	$950.83	$1,299.55

Size of family....	9	10	11	12	13
Average income...	$1,228.83	$1,356.87	$1,419.49	$1,370.52	$1,980.58

It will be noted that this table shows that with two exceptions the income increased as the size of the family increased. It must be recognized, however, that the number of families studied is altogether too small to form any basis for statistics in regard to correspondence between the size of the family and the size of the income. While the table is given for what it is worth, we believe that it is worth very little as a basis for opinion on this question.

Probably the two most significant facts disclosed by our analysis of the 184 family incomes are, first, that the average income was $854.13 per family, and, second, that the average income secured by the 170 husbands who were at work was only $503.15 or less than $10 per week. These figures harmonize very well with the wage statistics given in chap. ii. It will be remembered that those statistics show that 50 per cent of all male employees in the packing industry are paid $10 per week or less. Since the families from which we gathered our budgets were somewhat above the

average, it was to be expected that the average income of the husbands would not fall below $10 per week.

FAMILY EXPENDITURES

While in some cases the total annual expenditure exceeded the income, yet taking the families as a whole, each group, the Polish, the Lithuanian, and the miscellaneous, showed a small surplus for the year. The total expenditures of the 184 families amounted to 96.5 per cent of their income, leaving a surplus of 3.5 per cent. The gross expenditures may be analyzed as follows:

RENT

Of the 184 families, 131 were renters. The average annual rental per apartment paid by the various nationalities and the percentage of the average expenditure per family paid for rent are shown by the following table:

	Average Annual Rental per Apartment	Percentage of Average Annual Expenditure
Polish renters	$ 91.55	10.9
Lithuanian renters	123.36	15.9
Miscellaneous renters	110.95	12.5
All renting families	107.83	13.2

These figures show very clearly that the percentage of income spent for rent by stockyards families is not excessive when compared with the percentage spent by families in other sections of the city. The Lithuanian renters pay considerably more than other nationalities. This is due very largely to the fact that they crowd closely together and that the demand for houses in the Lithuanian district is very great. Most Lithuanian families would prefer to pay $12 per month for four rooms in the heart of the Lithuanian colony rather than $10 per month for four equally good rooms half a mile distant. The Lithuanians also take in a large number of lodgers, which is both a cause and an effect of relatively high rents.

The size of the apartments and the average annual rental per apartment are shown by the following table:

	2 Rooms	3 Rooms	4 Rooms	5 Rooms	6 Rooms	Total
Polish	8	5	40	4	2	59
Lithuanian	..	2	47	4	..	53
Miscellaneous	..	..	13	2	4	19
All renting families	8	7	100	10	6	131
Average rental per apartment	$59.25	$81.57	$110.95	$120.50	$117.33	$107.23

The above table shows that the great majority of families occupied four-room apartments for which they paid on an average about $9.00 per month. This rent does not include expenditures heat and light, which averaged $33.63 per family. According to our table the average rental for six-room apartments was lower than that for five-room apartments. It is probable that if a larger number of cases had been studied the average rental for six rooms would have been considerably higher than that for five rooms.

In the following table we give figures showing the number of occupants per room and the average rental paid per room by the various nationalities:

	No. of Families	No. of Members in Families	Lodgers and Boarders	No. of Rooms	Average No. Occupants per Room	Annual Average Rental per Room
Polish	59	293	49	223	1.54	$24.22
Lithuanian	53	254	232	214	2.27	30.55
Miscellaneous	19	110	11	86	1.41	24.51
All renting families	131	657	292	523	1.81	26.86

The most significant fact brought out by this table is the relatively high number of lodgers kept by the Lithuanian families. As was stated before, this probably explains, at least in part, the high rents paid by the Lithuanian families.

The following table will show more clearly the number of lodgers per family kept by the various nationalities:

	No. of Families Renting Apartments	No. of Families Keeping Lodgers	No. of Lodgers	Average No. of Lodgers per Family Where Lodgers Were Kept
Polish	59	17	49	2.88
Lithuanian	53	51	232	4.57
Miscellaneous	19	3	11	3.66
All renting families	131	71	292	4.01

The following table containing statistics for the families owning their homes as well as the renters may be interesting to those concerned with the housing problem:

	No. of Families	Average No. of Members per Family	Average No. of Lodgers per Family	Average No. of Rooms per Apartment	Average No. of Occupants per Apartment	Average No. of Occupants per Room
Polish	88	5.74	.67	4.08	6.41	1.58
Lithuanian	68	4.82	4.12	4.09	8.92	2.19
Miscellaneous	28	5.32	.43	4.57	5.75	1.26
All families	184	5.33	1.91	4.15	7.25	1.75

As the above tables indicate, there was considerable overcrowding in many of the apartments occupied by both renters and owners. For example, one Lithuanian family was found living in a basement apartment of four rooms, consisting of a kitchen $12 \times 14 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, a sitting-room $12 \times 14 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, and two bedrooms, each $7 \times 10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. This family consisted of a father and mother, and five children all under twelve years of age. Two of the children were boys and three were girls. *In addition to these seven members of the family, six male lodgers were taken in,* making a total of thirteen people occupying four small basement rooms. The probable reason why the family took in so many lodgers was that the money was absolutely necessary in order to meet expenses. The father was the sole wage-earner of the family, and his income averaged only $9.00 per week.

Another Lithuanian family consisting of the father and mother, a daughter of sixteen, and four other children under twelve, occu-

pied four small rooms and took in seven male lodgers. Several other instances might be given showing the overcrowding not only among Lithuanian families but also among the other families in the district.

While the facts brought out in our study are significant regarding housing conditions in the stockyards district, yet, as we have said before, we consider them insufficient to furnish a sound basis for conclusions on several points. A much more detailed study of the housing conditions in this district was made by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy under the direction of Misses S. P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott.[1] In this study statistics were gathered regarding housing conditions in 13 different blocks and 1,616 apartments. It was found that over one-half the apartments were four rooms in size and that the great majority rented for sums ranging from $8.00 to $12.00 per month. It was also found that there were 1,459 rooms under 80 square feet in area, the minimum size prescribed by city ordinance; there were 935 rooms under 8½ feet high, the minimum height prescribed by ordinance; there were 372 rooms with window area less than 10 per cent of the floor area, the minimum prescribed by ordinance for new houses; there were 81 rooms practically without any windows at all; there were 1,616 dark and gloomy rooms; there were 1,119 out of 1,616 apartments where the families had no private toilet facilities; there were 1,981 sleeping-rooms crowded beyond the legal maximum which prescribes 400 cubic feet of air for every adult and 200 feet for every child under twelve. These statistics, together with those gathered in our own study, show the present housing conditions in the stockyards district.

FOOD-STUFFS

The average expenditure of each of the 184 families for food-stuffs and liquors was $441.83, or 53.62 per cent of all expenditures. In addition to this each family spent on an average $9.22 for meals outside of the home. The percentage on food-stuffs spent by the various nationalities was as follows: Polish, 51.82; Lithuanian, 56.60; miscellaneous, 52.69 per cent. It will be noted that

[1] S. Breckinridge and E. Abbott, *The Housing Problem in Chicago*, Part III.

the expenditures for meat were relatively heavy. An examination of the individual budgets shows that over four-fifths of all the families consumed an average of over one-half pound of meat per day for each adult, and one-quarter of a pound of meat per day for every child under sixteen. Although this meat costs on an average less than 14 cents a pound, yet each of the 184 families spent on an average $136.33, or 16.55 per cent of its total expenditures, for meats. The Polish families spent 14.78 per cent of their total expenditures for meats, the Lithuanian families 18.98 per cent, and the miscellaneous families 16.61 per cent.

The next largest item in the outlay for food was the expenditure for bread, rolls, cakes, crackers, and other baked goods, including flour for home baking. Among the Polish families the expenditures on this item amounted to $96.09 per family, or 11.44 per cent of their total; among the Lithuanians $65.95, or 8.48 per cent of the total expenditures; among the others, $83.56, or 9.42 per cent of the total. The average for all families was $83.05, or 10.20 per cent of the total.

The expenditures for fruit and vegetables were comparatively low. For fruits each family spent, on an average, $16.94, or 2.06 per cent of the total expenditures; on vegetables, $31.59, or 3.84 per cent of the total expenditures. The expenditures for milk averaged $33.87 per family, 4.11 per cent of all expenditures, while those for beer and other alcoholic liquors averaged $36.42, or 4.42 per cent of the total. Out of the 184 families 180 listed expenditures for alcoholic liquors. All of the 184 families were coffee- or tea-users, the average being $15.92 per family, or 1.93 per cent of all expenditures.

Considering the fact that this is a Roman Catholic community where Friday is generally observed as a fast day, the expenditures for fish were surprisingly small, averaging only $7.49 per family, or 0.91 per cent of all the expenditures. The cereals have not yet become an important element in the diet of the Poles, Lithuanians, and other foreign peoples, as is shown by the fact that the average expenditures per family for all cereals amounted to $4.75, or 0.58 per cent of the total expenditures. This is less than the amount

spent upon pickles and spices, which was $6.59 per family, or 0.80 per cent of the total expenditures. Ninety-nine families showed some expenditures for candy and ice cream, the average for these families being $3.55, or 0.43 per cent of all expenditures.

All families made purchases of butter, lard, cheese, eggs, and sugar, but there was nothing especially noteworthy connected with the amount expended upon these items. Some of the families bought their butter in very small quantities—often one-fourth of a pound at a time—and this generally resulted in the payment of somewhat higher prices than the rates on larger amounts. Nine of the families purchased ice during the summer months. This item has not been included among the food expenditures. The average expenditure made by each of the nine families for ice amounted to $5.17.

CLOTHING

Next to food and rent the heaviest expenditures were those for clothing. The average expenditure for clothing for each of the 184 families was $95.41, or 11.58 per cent of their total expenditures. Of this amount, $55.78, or 6.74 per cent of the total family expenses was spent for the childrens' clothing; $23.64, or 2.85 per cent, for the father's clothing, and $19.65, or 2.39 per cent, for the mother's clothing. The expenditures made by the Polish and other families for clothing were much heavier than those of the Lithuanians, the expenditures of the two former being 13.35 and 13.25 per cent respectively, while the latter expended only 8.31 per cent of its total for clothing.

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURES

An average of $33.63, or 4.08 per cent of the total expenditures, was made by each family for fuel and light. Nearly all of the apartments were heated by coal and lighted by oil.

The average expenditure per family for furniture and furnishings was $21.18, or 2.57 per cent of the total; for soap, $13.15, or 1.59 per cent of the total, and for laundry work, $4.01, or 0.49 per cent of the total. Only 152 families sent any work to the laundry. A number of miscellaneous expenditures for moving, repayment of debts, weddings, funerals, etc., were important items

in some family budgets; 82 families expended $8,018.26 in this way, or an average of $97.78 per family. Some of these unusual expenditures will be described in detail later in the chapter.

One hundred and eighty-two families spent on an average $13.96 for carfare, or 1.69 per cent of their total expenditures. One hundred and eighty families expended an average of $10.60 on recreation, or 1.29 per cent of the total; this generally included spending-money given to the children who were wage-earners. An average of $4.32 was spent by 179 families for barber bills, or 0.52 per cent of the total expenditures. An average of $6.78 was spent by 178 families for tobacco, or 0.82 per cent of the total. Doctors' bills and other expenditures for health averaged $13.09 for 143 families, or 1.59 per cent of the total. The expenditures for educational purposes, including newspapers, books, magazines, stationery, and postage, averaged $10.10 per family, or 1.23 per cent of the total. The average in this case was raised considerably by the expenditure of $500 by one family for the education of one of the children in Rome who was studying for the priesthood. Many of the families sent their children to the parochial schools, paying as a rule 50 cents a child per month for their education.

One hundred and thirty-seven families carried insurance; 82 on the father, 33 on the mother, and 94 on the children. The average expenditure per family for insurance was $13.42, or 1.63 per cent. One hundred and thirty-one families also paid dues into societies largely for insurance purposes, the average payment per family being $15.38. One hundred and fifty-three families paid an average of $11.44 to the church, or 1.39 per cent of the total expenditures. The total expenditures for all purposes average $823.98 per family, or 96.5 per cent of the average family income.

SPECIAL EXPENDITURES

As stated at the outset, the majority of families from whom we collected budgets had a small surplus above their annual expenditures. Fifty-six, however, had deficits, in some cases running into hundreds of dollars. In most cases these deficits were caused by unemployment and extraordinary expenditures. Long periods of illness, weddings, funerals, and moving nearly always ran the family into debt.

Wedding Expenses of Clara Z.

Bride's outfit		Wedding dinner	
Dress	$29.00	3 doz. ducks	$ 13.00
Slippers	1.50	5 doz. chickens	22.50
Stockings	0.25	Wedding cake	10.00
Underwear, petticoat	8.75	Cakes and bread	16.00
Gloves	1.75	Fruit, fresh	10.00
Veil	3.50	Fruit, canned	3.25
Flowers	6.00	Meat and ham	8.63
Notions	3.00	Candy and ice cream	2.10
Household linen, etc.	35.00	Milk and coffee	3.38
Present	10.00	Vegetables	3.17
		Sugar, 10 lbs.	0.50
	$98.75		$97.63
		Bride's outfit	98.75
			$196.38

The groom made a present of $50 which was used to defray the expenses in part. The remaining $156.38 was paid by the parents, who borrowed $150 of the amount from relatives.

Wedding Expenses of Helen G.

Bride's outfit		Wedding dinner	
Wedding gown	$19.98	5 doz. chickens	$ 8.00
Underwear	6.35	3 doz. ducks	12.20
Satin slippers	3.00	4 hams	10.93
Silk stockings	0.75	Veal	5.75
Silk gloves	1.25	Smoked meats	6.12
Veil	6.50	2 wedding cakes	13.75
Flowers	6.80	Cakes and pies	20.25
Notions	1.35	Bread	3.00
Household linen, etc.	25.00	Milk and cream	3.25
2 tons of coal	14.50	10 lbs. coffee	2.50
Wood	5.00	10 lbs. sugar	0.60
Photographs	3.00	5 lbs. butter	1.50
Brother's present	5.00	Fresh fruit	10.85
		Canned fruit	1.90
	$98.48	Vegetables	4.00
		Candy	1.50
		Cook's service	6.00
		Dish washing	2.00
			$104.10
		Bride's outfit	98.48
			$212.58

The foregoing itemized accounts of the expenditures for two Polish weddings in families where we gathered budgets illustrate the heavy outlay which is sometimes made on such an occasion. While these accounts are somewhat above the average, still they illustrate the point that most of the families in the stockyards district spend their money freely on festive occasions.

The birth-rate and the death-rate (among infants) in the stockyards district is very high. On the occasion of each birth from $10 to $20 is spent for the fees of the midwife or the physician, etc. Then at the time of the christening from $5.00 to $20 more is spent on the christening feast and fees to the church.

The following itemized account of the funeral expenses in the case of a baby is representative and illustrates how families are thereby thrown into debt. In the case of this family, for example, money for the funeral was borrowed from relatives.

DOCTOR AND FUNERAL EXPENSES OF J. G.—AGED THREE

Doctor, 3 visits	$3.00	Flowers and ribbons	$ 0.65
Medicine	3.75	Sundries	0.28
Casket	6.00	Cemetery	4.50
Dress	1.50	Church expense	2.50
Cap	0.30	1 carriage	8.00
Stockings	0.10	Lunch and expense at cemetery	3.00
Slippers	0.50		
Candles	0.75		
			$34.83

The funeral expenses for an adult are, of course, much higher.

Another factor tending to keep families continually in debt was the purchase of furniture and other expensive articles on the instalment plan. While many families could buy their furniture in no other way, yet the "easy-payment plan" often led families to undertake the purchase of expensive articles they could not afford. Goods purchased on the instalment plan were almost uniformly purchased at a much higher price than would have been paid in cash.

POVERTY

It goes without saying that in a district where 56 out of 184 families show a deficit in their annual accounts, there is a great deal of poverty. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the

poverty of material goods is often surpassed by the poverty of knowledge. This latter poverty becomes doubly significant when we try to ascertain the minimum income necessary to support a certain size family in this district. When we expect that every dollar of the income should be spent in the most intelligent way we expect too much. When we expect that foods should be chosen wisely from the standpoint of their relative values in nutriment, and that they should be cooked in the best possible way, we expect too much. In some ways the families of this district know how to economize, but in others they do not, as is only too well shown by the high expenditures for alcoholic liquors compared with the expenditures for the prime necessities of life.

THE COST OF LIVING FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE

Perhaps the most important question to be answered by our study of family budgets is the minimum amount necessary to support a family of five, or any other size family, decently in the stockyards district. First of all it may be well to state what the families of five actually spent. Then by an analysis of their expenditures we may be able to ascertain what such a family would need to spend in order to live efficiently. There were 12 Polish families of this size from which we collected budgets. The incomes of these families varied from $451.14 to $1,300.76, the average being $700.74. The expenditures varied from $482.83 to $1,071.60. Five of the families, all of them with an income less than $660, showed deficits ranging from $19.70 to $82.98. The average expenditure of all the families was $658.17.

There were 18 Lithuanian families of five members. The incomes of these families ranged from $663.81 to $1,745.80, the average income being $862.65. The expenditures ranged from $611.53 to $1,543.27, the average being $789.24. Only one of these families showed a deficit.

There were 4 miscellaneous families of five members with incomes ranging from $590.32 to $1,112.80, the average being $828.51. The expenditures of these families ranged from $597.57 to $1,108.96. Two of these families showed a deficit. Altogether there were 34 families of five members, having an average income of $801.49, with an average expenditure of $748.88. Eight of

the families had deficits averaging $47.25. In practically every case where the family income went below $600 there was a deficit. This does not mean, however, that a family of five can live on $600 a year. They may exist on that amount for a time, but they cannot live on it. The least misfortune will plunge them into debt and sooner or later they will become dependent on charity. We submit below a list of expenditures based on analysis of the family accounts which we collected, which we believe constitutes the minimum below which a family cannot go for any length of time in the stockyards district without lowering its vitality and cutting off the possibilities of future development.

Rent	$120.00	—$12 per month for 4 sanitary rooms.
Heat and light	36.00	—an average of $3.00 per month.
Bread and baked goods	72.00	—20 cents per day.
Butter	20.28	—1½ lbs. per week at 26 cents per pound.
Lard	3.90	—½ pound per week at 15 cents per pound.
Cheese	10.40	—1 lb. per week at 20 cents per pound.
Eggs	19.50	—1½ dozen per week at 25 cents per dozen.
Milk	43.80	—1½ quarts per day at 8 cents per quart.
Sugar	9.18	—3 pounds per week at 6 cents per pound.
Meat	87.60	—1½ lbs. per day at 16 cents per pound.
Fish	11.96	—1½ lbs. per week at 15 cents per pound.
Vegetables	36.50	—10 cents per day.
Fruits	26.00	—50 cents per week.
Cereals	7.80	—15 cents per week.
Pickles, pepper, spices, etc.	5.20	—10 cents per week.
Coffee, tea, etc.	13.00	—25 cents per week.
	$523.12	—total for rent, heat, and food-stuffs.
Clothing, father	$ 30.00	—1 suit clothes, working-clothes, shirts, underwear, shoes, and sundries.
Clothing, mother	30.00	includes dresses, coats, winter garments, shoes, hats, etc.
Clothing, children	40.00	
Carfare	10.40	—20 cents per week.
Education	15.00	—includes children's books and newspapers.
Laundry	5.20	—10 cents per week.
Soap, starch, etc.	13.00	—25 cents per week.
Furniture and furnishings	22.00	—includes household utensils, brooms, etc.
Insurance	24.50	—husband, 15 cents weekly, wife and 3 children, each 5 cents per week.
Health	10.00	—includes all doctors' bills and medicines.
Societies and trade unions	10.40	—20 cents per week.
	$210.50	
	523.12	
	$733.62	

The above list includes no expenditures for church, which are made by at least nine-tenths of the families in this district, no expenditures for alcoholic liquors, which were made by all but one of the families studied, no expenditures for tobacco, barber bills, recreation, Christmas presents, ice cream and candy, and a number of other items which are found in the budget of every family in this district that can afford it. Moreover, no allowance is made for the extraordinary expenses occasioned by birth, deaths, moving, etc., which must be met sooner or later by every family. If we allow $66.38 per year to cover all of these items, the necessary minimum expenditure for each family of five would be $800. We believe that no family of five can live decently and efficiently in the stockyards district on less than this amount.

It will be noted that rather liberal amounts were allowed in our list for milk, cheese, and eggs. On the other hand, the allowance for meat was put at a much lower figure than the amounts now spent by the average family in the district. We believe that more nutriment can be obtained by spending the money in this way than otherwise. However, even with the most intelligent expenditure of money and the most economical management of the household, it would be impossible for a family of five to live on less than $800 a year.

COST OF LIVING FOR FAMILIES OF SIX AND SEVEN MEMBERS

Our statistics show that the average expenditure of 27 families of six members each were $778.80, while the average expenditures of 18 families of seven members each were $879.48. We recognize, of course, that when we divide 184 families up into such small groups the statistics for each group are likely to be misleading. Assuming, however, as these statistics indicate, that each additional child in the family increases the average family expenditure at least 7 per cent, the minimum amount necessary to support a family of six would be $800 (the minimum amount required to support five) plus $56, the additional amount required for each child, or $856. The minimum amount required to support a family of seven would be $912.

We do not mean to assert that a family could not spend considerably more than the above-mentioned amounts without

indulging in luxuries. We have attempted merely to fix the minimum below which the family cannot go without giving up necessities. If prices continue to rise, of course the amounts required to support a family will be increased accordingly. Our figures are based on the prices prevailing in the stockyards district in the year 1910.

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT FACTS

One hundred and eighty-four families represented: 88 Polish, 68 Lithuanian, 28 miscellaneous.

Average size of family, 5.33. In addition, on an average, 1.09 lodgers per family.

In 94 families the father was the only wage-earner; in 52 families children fourteen to fifteen were at work; in 21 families wife was at work; 92 families obtained an income from lodgers.

The income of 110 families was $800 per year or less; the income of 74 families was over $800 per year; the average income of all families was $854.13.

The average wage of all the husbands was $503.15. Fifty-three husbands lost 580 solid weeks of work or on an average 10.9 weeks each per year.

In the 52 families where children were at work the average income derived from this source was $200.14 per year.

One hundred and thirty-one families rented their quarters. The average rental per family was $107.83, or 13.2 per cent of the total expenditure. One hundred of the 131 renting families occupied flats of four rooms.

The 68 Lithuanian families had on an average 4.12 lodgers per family. In one case 13 people were crowded together in four small basement rooms.

The average expenditure for food-stuffs and liquors was $441.83 per family, or 53.62 per cent of the total expenditure.

One hundred and eighty families used alcoholic liquors; the average expenditure per family was $36.42, or 4.42 per cent of the total expenditure.

The minimum amount necessary to support a family of five efficiently in the stockyards district is $800 per year, or $15.40 per week.

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